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MARYLAND IN LIBERIA

A HISTORY OF

The Colony planted by the Maryland State Colonization Society under the auspices of the State of Maryland, U. S. at Cape Palmas on the South-West Coast of Africa, 1833-1853

A Paper read before the Maryland Historical Society

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Fund-Publication, No. 21.

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PEABODY PUBLICATION FUND.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
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ERRATA.

Page 30, line 2, *substitute* "have" *for* "has."
" 31, " 8, " "desire" " "desires."
" 38, " 2, " "them" " "it."
" 40, " 19, " "Weah" " "Weak."
" 43, " 5, " "beach" " "plain."
" 46, " 15, *insert* "1834" *after* "29th December."
" 58, " 15, *substitute* "objectionable" *for* "objectional."
" 59, lines 6 and 7, *substitute* "their" " "its."

PREFACE.

When the Maryland State Colonization Society closed its active operations in 1863, Dr. James Hall, who had been its agent and business manager, and the editor of the Maryland Colonization Journal, arranged carefully all the books and papers of the Society and placed them in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society. It has been from this collection and from the personal knowledge of the writer that the following history has been prepared. He has had, in addition, the memoranda of Dr. Hall to aid him in the work. The material has not by any means been exhausted, and the reports of the State Society, which are in print, and the ten volumes of the Colonization Journal are well worthy of examination by those who are interested in seeing how a nation may be built up from its earliest infancy, and until it enters as an adult into the family of nations.

MARYLAND IN LIBERIA.

IN Scharf's History of Maryland, Vol. 3, p. 320, it is said, that "at December Session, 1831, of the Legislature of Maryland, the State embarked zealously in the work of African colonization and made the munificent appropriation of $10,000 for twenty-six years, for the transportation and removal of emigrants to Africa; and the State Society was incorporated to accomplish the ends it had in view."

The above, if not as accurate as it might be, suffices to inform the general reader that Maryland contributed largely toward African colonization. But the circumstances that induced the appropriation, and the history of what ensued in this connection until the fund was exhausted, deserve a more ample notice. This, the writer has again and again tried to persuade others to prepare, indicating the materials to be found in the Historical Society and placing his own peculiar knowledge on the subject at their disposal. Nothing has been done, however; and so, the writer, unwilling to leave the work undone, while

time yet remained to him, has undertaken, in justice not only to the State, but to associates nearly all of whom have long since passed away, to write a narrative, his own connection with whose events has hitherto made him prefer that other hands should supply what has always seemed to him to be an omission in the history of Maryland.

It is certainly a noticeable fact that a private corporation of this State should have purchased territory in Africa from native kings, with all attributes of sovereignty, have planted there a colony of emigrants from Maryland, carrying with them a constitution, a bill of rights, and a system of laws that placed them, from the moment of landing, in the condition of a well-organized community—a system, one of the fundamental principles of which was total abstinence from the use of, or traffic in ardent spirits—a system under which they lived and throve, until at the end of twenty years of unbroken prosperity, there was transferred to them, at their own request, the sovereign power of the original owners of the soil, and they became one of the family of Nations, under a constitutional republican government; and, although the then so-called "State of Maryland in Liberia" afterwards united itself by treaty to the Republic of Liberia, where it is now known

as Maryland County, its origin and the history of its comparatively brief independent existence ought not to be absolutely forgotten.

In 1816, the American Colonization Society, now in the seventieth year of its existence, sent two of its agents to Africa to select a site for a colony of free colored people from the United States. They selected Sherbro Island, not far from the British colony of Sierra Leone. The Society's pecuniary means were limited, and it might never have taken possession had not Mr. Monroe construed the Act of Congress of 1819, which required slaves imported after 1807 to be kept, until removed, in custody, as justifying him in employing the agency of the Society in removing them to their native country. The ship Elizabeth was then chartered by the Government and sailed, with emigrants furnished by the Society, to Sherbro. This site proving unhealthy, the emigrants were removed to another, which was equally so; whereupon the President dispatched Captain Robert F. Stockton, in the armed schooner Alligator, to the coast, on a voyage of exploration, which resulted in the purchase of Cape Mesurada from the natives. The deed was made to Robert F. Stockton and Dr. Eli Ayres, his companion on the voyage and an agent of the Society, in trust for emigrants who might choose

to settle there. To this place the survivors of the emigrants by the Elizabeth were removed, and the seed was planted that has grown and branched into the Republic of Liberia.

It was not long before news came that the colonists were "turbulent and insubordinate." "There was no civil government; what stood in the place of one, was a pure despotism of an agent, resting on no legal basis and possessing no physical force to compel obedience."[1] In time this was remedied and the reign of law and order was established. It is mentioned to show the warning of which the Maryland State Colonization Society availed itself at a later date.

To carry on its work the American Colonization Society depended upon the collections made by auxiliaries. One of the most productive of these was in Baltimore. The interest in the subject, however, had spread throughout the State; and on the 6th of March, 1827, the Legislature directed "the treasurer of the Western Shore to pay for the use of the Society one thousand dollars, provided he should be satisfied that the sum would be expended for the benefit of the people of color who had been actual residents of Maryland for twelve months prior to their embarkation for

[1] See Memorial Volume of Am. Col. Society, pp. 81, 82.

Africa. A like sum was directed to be paid annually to the Society on proof to the same effect.

Including the emigration of 1828, there had been sent to Liberia from various States seven hundred and fifty-seven emigrants; and the prospects in this respect were so satisfactory that, at the annual meeting in that year, the Society adopted a resolution offered by Mr. Latrobe, a delegate from Maryland, "that the Board of Managers be requested to ascertain in the course of the ensuing year, if possible, the practicability of obtaining territory for colonial settlements at Cape Palmas and the island of Bulama, on the southwest coast of Africa." In support of this resolution the advantages of Cape Palmas were described on information derived mainly from Dr. Ayres, the companion of Captain Stockton, and from inspection of the map of Africa.

In 1829, there was remitted to the Society in Washington, between two and three thousand dollars, the proceeds of a fair held in Baltimore. This was a large sum in those days; but there was a reaction in the feeling that produced it, owing to the emigration from Maryland being so very small that the parent Society was unable to meet the condition on which the payment of the State's subscription for that year depended. At

any rate, all interest in colonization seemed to die out for the time; nor was it revived until Robert S. Finley, the son of the founder of the American Colonization Society, came to Baltimore in 1832 and undertook its advocacy with a rare and peculiar eloquence that attracted crowds to hear him. He infused a new spirit into the old friends of the cause; and at a meeting held by them on the 22nd of February, 1832, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas this meeting is of opinion that the plan of establishing a colony of free colored people from the United States has been proved to be perfectly practicable, through the zealous, unwavering and philanthropic exertions of the American Colonization Society; and whereas, greater concentration of effort and multiplication of resources than have hitherto been obtained, are obviously necessary to secure the ultimate accomplishment of the great object in view, the removal of the free people of color with their own consent to Africa; and whereas, it is deemed expedient to endeavor to apply the means that may be raised in Maryland to the removal of the free people of color of Maryland; and whereas, it is considered that such well known application of these means will ensure a great increase in their amount, and thus materially advance the great aim of the

Society—therefore, resolved, that this meeting will proceed to form itself into a State Colonization Society, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society at Washington, and that its efforts shall be devoted under the auspices of that Society, to the removal of the free people of color with their own consent to Africa."

Messrs. J. H. B. Latrobe, Peter Hoffman and Dr. Samuel Baker were then appointed a committee to prepare a constitution, which was subsequently adopted and which was the foundation of the system of independent State action under which colonization was afterwards carried on in Maryland by "The Maryland State Colonization Society," which was the name given to the association.[1]

The first act of the Board of Managers on the 27th of March, 1831, was to resolve to despatch an expedition to Liberia in the following June, and the Secretary was directed to correspond with the Parent Society to obtain such documents as would entitle emigrants from Maryland, on their arrival

[1] The officers of the Society were George Hoffman, First President, Thomas Ellicott, Second, and Nicholas Brice, Third President; Alexander Nesbit, Thomas E. Bond, Nathaniel Williams, Vice Presidents; John Hoffman, Treasurer; James Howard, Secretary; Moses Sheppard, Peter Hoffman, Gen'l Samuel McDonald, Alexander Fridge, Dr. Samuel Baker, Peter Neff, Charles Howard, Solomon Etting, J. J. Harrod, John Gibson, Edward J. Coale, and John H. B. Latrobe, Managers; Dr. Eli Ayres, Agent; Solomon Etting, Moses Sheppard and Charles Howard, Executive Committee.

in Africa, to participate in the rights and privileges of other colonists.

A long correspondence followed. It involved the principle of independent State action, which the Parent Society deprecated as narrowing its field for collecting money and emigrants. It ended by the State Society's agreeing to reimburse the parent board for whatever expenses the emigrants from Maryland might cause in Liberia, to be ascertained by the colonial agent.

It was with this understanding that the State Society despatched the schooner Orion, with Dr. James Hall on board as a passenger, with thirty-one emigrants to Monrovia, on the 25th of October, 1831, and the ship Lafayette, with one hundred and forty-four, in December, 1832.

It would not be fair, however, to attribute the large emigration by the Lafayette to independent State action. There can be little doubt that it was owing, in great measure, to the so-called "Southampton Massacres."

In August, 1831, sixty-five whites, men, women and children, were massacred in cold blood by negroes under Nat Turner, in Southampton County, Virginia. Up to this time there had been a growing feeling in favor of emancipation in Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky. Now, there was a strong reaction; and stringent laws affecting

slavery and free negroes were enacted in these States. The Maryland law bears date March 12, 1832, but is commonly spoken of as the law of 1831, having been passed at December session of that year. Its close connection with our subject requires a particular reference to some of its provisions.

The first section provides for the appointment of three commissioners, members of the Maryland State Colonization Society, whose duty it is to remove from the State the people of color now free, or such as shall become so, to Liberia, or such other place, without the State, as they may approve, and the party to be removed may consent to go to, and to provide for their establishment and support as far as necessary.

The second section provides for the payment to the commissioners of such sums as they shall from time to time require, not exceeding in all the sum of $20,000, during the present year (1832), to be applied by them in their discretion for the above purpose, with power to make preparations in Liberia if they think best.

The third section requires the Registers of Wills and County Clerks to furnish lists of manumitted slaves to be removed. If the party refuses to go to Liberia, the Sheriff is required to put him out of the State.

The fourth section authorizes slaves to refuse manumission. The fifth enables the Orphans'

Court to permit manumitted slaves to remain in the State. The sixth authorizes manumitted slaves to be hired out until their wages pay the expense of their removal. The seventh requires the Treasurer to borrow $20,000 to make the first year's payment, and the eighth apportions the annual payments among the several counties and the city of Baltimore.[1] The remaining sections of the Act have no immediate bearing on the present topic.[2]

The harshness that prompted the above legislation soon gave way to the kindly feeling that had always influenced the people of Maryland towards the colored population. In but a single instance was the Sheriff called upon to remove a manumitted slave beyond the borders of the State.

Cotemporaneously with the passage of the Act of 1831, the State Colonization Society, which had previously existed as a voluntary association, was incorporated by the Act of 1831, chapter 314.

The charter, the extent of whose powers in the present connection it is important to note, especially authorized the incorporators "to purchase,

[1] Although the Act of 1831 left the amount to be drawn by the commissioners, from the treasury annually, after the first year, to their discretion, yet the second section which apportions the sum of $10,000 as the annual contribution of the several counties and the city of Baltimore, was held to limit the commissioners to that amount. See Act of 1852, ch. 202.

[2] The law of 1831 was prepared by Henry Brawner, from Charles County, one of the ablest members of the Legislature.

have and enjoy, to them and their successors, in fee, or otherwise, any lands, tenements and hereditaments by gift, grant, bargain and sale, devise, or other act of any person or persons, body politic or corporate whatsoever . . . and to occupy, use and enjoy, or sell, transfer or otherwise dispose of, all such lands, tenements and hereditaments, goods or chattels, in such manner as they shall determine the best adapted and most conducive to the object of colonizing, with their own consent, in Africa the free people of color in Maryland, and such slaves as may be manumitted for the purpose, and which is declared to be the sole and exclusive object of the said Society."

It was under this charter that the State Society took it upon itself to acquire, by purchase, territory in Africa and to exercise a power that had the incidents of sovereignty.

The first use made by the Commissioners of the State fund was to charter the ship Lafayette for Liberia, as already mentioned.

The accounts brought by the Lafayette on her return were so very unsatisfactory that the commissioners determined to suspend further emigration for the present; and the active promoters of the cause in Baltimore became, for a season, greatly discouraged. Colonization, however, was not to be abandoned because of temporary mis-

management in Africa, or the want of pecuniary means in Washington; and it came to be asked whether Cape Palmas, which had been suggested at Washington in 1828, might not, in this emergency, be found to be a site upon which, with due preparation and with adequate pecuniary means, a colony might be planted that would be free from the difficulties that were hampering the Society at Washington.

As far back as October 4th, 1832, Messrs. Latrobe, Judge Brice and Charles Carroll Harper had been appointed a committee to consider and report upon communications that had been received from different parties in regard to new settlements in Africa; and on the return of the Lafayette, the committee, regarding a new settlement as the only alternative to a failure of the colonization cause in Maryland, reported the following resolution, which was adopted.

"That the Maryland State Colonization Society will forthwith establish a settlement on the coast of Africa, and will take immediate means to procure, both within and without the State, the necessary pecuniary aid; and that the committee heretofore appointed on the subject of new settlements be directed to report to the board upon the position and details, together with the probable cost of the same, and that the commissioners of the State

fund be requested to lend their aid in such manner as they may deem proper in this behalf." [1]

In the preamble to this resolution it was recited among other things that "it was believed that a settlement thus formed by a Society, whose avowed object was the extirpation of slavery in Maryland, by proper and gradual efforts addressed to the understanding and experience of the people of the State, would be viewed with peculiar interest by those who advocated colonization on account of its tendencies towards liberty."

On the 28th June, the committee reported that "they had no hesitation in recommending Cape Palmas or its vicinity, as the most suitable position for a new settlement to the leeward of Monrovia. Its advantages were great in a commercial aspect, equally so in an agricultural one, and there was no reason to believe that its health was not equal to that of any other situation on the coast."

The report was accepted, and the following resolutions, after a prolonged discussion of the subject, and after amendment, were unanimously adopted as the basis of the Society's action in the premises.[2]

[1] Records, Vol. I, p. 74.

[2] With the views entertained, nowadays, of slavery, it perhaps seems strange that there should have been any question as to the propriety of

"Whereas, the Society have resolved to establish a settlement at some suitable point on the coast of Africa, and to take measures to procure both within and without the State the necessary pecuniary aid; and whereas Cape Palmas, or its vicinity, has been recommended as affording advantages for such a settlement, which justify steps for its more particular exploration and purchase; and whereas it is proper, before proceeding to make the application for the aid contemplated, that the principles upon which it is intended to establish the settlement should be distinctly stated for the information of those who may be willing

adopting the resolutions of the text. But, half a century ago, slavery was regarded in the States where it existed as an institution upon whose permanence the wealth and prosperity of so many were dependent, that anything which, by possibility, might interfere with it, was looked upon with jealousy and distrust. So fixed, indeed, did it seem to be, that even those who deplored its existence, seeing no way to get rid of it, and never dreaming of the civil war which closed with its destruction, were disposed to consider it as a necessary evil, and to leave it with the future to be dealt with. The Constitution of the American Colonization Society had carefully avoided all reference to it, when it declared the object to be "the removal of the *free* people of color, with their own consent, to Africa," and the Maryland law of 1831 found supporters in the belief that, by such removal, the property in slaves would be enhanced in value or made more secure. The action of the State Society, therefore, which frankly declared that the extirpation of slavery in Maryland was its ultimate object, was far in advance of anything that had been done in this connection in the slave-holding States, and the discussion of the resolutions was naturally careful and deliberate. Not only was the principle involved to be considered, but the effect of the resolutions upon the public, and especially their effect on the Legislature, upon which the Act of 1831 made the Society practically dependent for the means of accomplishing its purposes.

to lend their assistance to the cause of colonization as advocated by this Society; therefore it is resolved:

"*First.* That the Maryland State Colonization Society look forward to the extirpation of slavery in Maryland, by proper and gradual efforts addressed to the understanding and experience of the people of the State, as the peculiar object of their labors.

"*Second.* That the Society believe that this can best be accomplished, under existing circumstances, by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization.

"*Third.* That the colonization of the free people of color, of the United States, on the coast of Africa, will not only promote their own temporal freedom and happiness, but be the means of spreading the light of civilization and the Gospel in Africa.

"*Fourth.* And whereas it is desired that the settlement about to be made should, as far as practicable, become a moral and temperate community, which is to be effected in a great degree by the character of the emigrants who may leave America for a new home in Africa; and whereas the sad experience of this country has shown the demoralizing effect of the use of ardent spirits; be it resolved that no emigrant shall be permitted to go from America to a settlement of this Society,

in Africa, who shall not first bind himself or herself to abstain therefrom.

"*Fifth.* That the principle of abstaining from the use of ardent spirits, except for medicinal purposes, be incorporated into the local government of the settlements of this Society in Africa, so that no person shall be capable of holding office therein who shall not first pledge himself to abstain from the use of, or traffic in, ardent spirit, with the above exception.

"*Sixth.* That this Society believe that in thus uniting the two great causes of colonization and temperance, the best interests of both will be promoted; colonization will advance with a healthier step to ultimate success, and temperance will find, in a nation founded on its principles, an illustration that must be forever conclusive as to its political benefits and an example all powerful in its influences.

"*Seventh.* That this Society, while they will encourage at all times communication with their settlements, so as to increase facilities for emigration, will make their agricultural character and improvement the peculiar object of their solicitude."

The adoption of the above platform was all the more important at this time in view of the attitude that the State had recently assumed in regard to colonization.

When, in 1826, the Legislature directed $1,000 to be paid annually to the American Colonization Society, the State occupied the position of any other contributor, except as to the application of the fund. When the State, in 1831, made its appropriation of $10,000 annually, the expenditure was not left to the Parent Society, but was confided to commissioners, who might apply it at their discretion, as they did, when they sent the Lafayette to Monrovia, without interfering with the control of the Society at Washington in Africa.

Under the Act of December Session of 1832, passed on the 23d of March, 1833, after the return of the Lafayette, and three months prior to the passage of the foregoing resolutions, the State, however, assumed a new attitude in regard to colonization.

After reciting the Act of 1826, the preamble of the Act of 1832, ch. 314, continues:

"And whereas, by the restrictions of said Act, the American Colonization Society have not drawn upon the treasurer for several years past for the appropriations made by the Act aforesaid, for the purpose of carrying into execution the benevolent designs of the State; and whereas, THE STATE HAVING NOW EMBARKED IN THAT GREAT AND IMPORTANT WORK, ON ITS OWN RESOURCES, therefore be it enacted, that the several sums appro-

priated as aforesaid, which have not already been appropriated, be and the same are hereby appropriated to the use of the State, as other monies now in the treasury; and be it enacted, that the said Act is hereby repealed to all intents and purposes."

It is hardly necessary to say that the position thus taken by Maryland strengthened materially the confidence of the Board of Managers. They had now a reasonable expectation that the aid of the State, through the commissioners of the State fund, could be obtained; and it was only right, in all fairness, before it was applied for, that the principles upon which the Board were acting should be as frankly stated, as they were in the resolutions on the 28th of June.

On the same day, Messrs. Latrobe, Anderson and Howard had been appointed a committee to recommend a suitable person to proceed to Africa to purchase a site for a settlement at Cape Palmas or in its neighborhood, if practicable, under instructions which the committee were to prepare and submit to the Board.

As already said, among the passengers in the Orion, in October, 1831, was Dr James Hall, who, on reaching Monrovia, was at once employed as a physician by the American Colonization Society. On his passage out, amongst other matters placed

in his hands for information concerning colonization and Liberia, was a copy of the African Repository, containing the speech already referred to, suggesting Cape Palmas as a proper site for a new settlement; and having occasion to visit the leeward coast in the Margaret Mercer,[1] for the purchase of rice for the emigrants, he took occasion to visit the Cape and see for himself whether the place justified the description. The result of his examination was a letter to Dr. Ayres, the agent of the Society when the Orion sailed, which was most satisfactory in regard to the healthiness and agricultural facilities of the place. It came into the hands of the committee after a new settlement had been determined upon; and when on the 6th of June, Dr. Hall himself made his

[1] The Margaret Mercer was a vessel built in Baltimore at the cost of the Pennsylvania State Colonization Society, and presented by it to the Parent Society. It was called after a Maryland lady, the daughter of General John Francis Mercer, of revolutionary fame. Among the friends of colonization she was the most devoted. Inheriting slaves when they were still valuable in Maryland, she manumitted them, sent them to Liberia, and during her life watched over their welfare. Intelligent, highly accomplished and refined, she was beloved by all who knew her, and the calling of the vessel referred to by her name was no more than a recognition of her established reputation as an efficient and self-sacrificing friend of the cause to which she devoted her time and contributed largely from her pecuniary means.

It was an odd coincidence, that it should have been in a Baltimore-built vessel, called after a Maryland lady, that the voyage was made to which was to be attributed more immediately the establishment of the colony of Maryland in Liberia.

appearance in Baltimore on his way to Washington, to meet the Directors of the American Colonization Society, it may readily be understood with what satisfaction he was received, especially when he expressed his readiness to return to Africa at once, if required, to take charge of the proposed expedition. It was this and his subsequent intercourse with the members of the Board of Managers that led the committee to recommend him as the agent for the occasion; although it was not until the 9th of September that he was formally appointed.[1]

When it was ascertained on the arrival of Dr. Hall in Baltimore in June, that he would accept

[1] In a letter addressed, more than fifty years afterwards, to the African Repository for October, 1885, Dr. Hall, speaking of his appointment, says: "This proposal the writer could not forbear accepting, although fully sensible of the responsibility of the undertaking and the many chances of failure in the execution of the task to the satisfaction of the Society or even of himself. In the first place his heart was in the cause, not exactly of colonization but of Liberia. By a residence of two years at Monrovia he had imbibed a deep interest in the colony and formed most friendly relations with many of its citizens, especially Russwurm, McGill, Roberts, Day and many others. Without vanity or overestimate of his ability, he felt that he could better execute the task than any other man they could or would be likely to obtain; and that from his peculiar fitness therefor. His early training before and while acquiring his profession had made him familiar with business; and in Africa he had acquired knowledge most invaluable and important for the position. He had attended scarcely less than one thousand cases of African fever. He was familiar with the African trade, with the peculiarities and habits of the natives, well acquainted with the colonists, and able to make good selections of suitable assistants, and more than all, had visited the towns on the entire coastline to and including the point proposed for settlement.

the leadership of the proposed undertaking, the next thing to be done was to secure the requisite pecuniary means for carrying it on. This was afforded by the Commissioners of the State Fund, who, on the 9th of July, sent the following reply to a note addressed to them on the 7th.

"Whereas, this Board have come to the conclusion, after a full and mature consideration, that it will not be prudent or judicious to send any emigrants to Monrovia this year owing to the circumstances of the colony; and they have no assurance that the colony will be, for some time to come, able to receive as many emigrants as the Board have reason to think will be prepared to leave the State of Maryland.

"And whereas, the Maryland State Colonization Society have it in contemplation to establish another settlement on the coast which would afford great facilities for the reception of emigrants from Maryland, but find themselves unable to accomplish that object without an advance of funds on the part of this Board, therefore

"Resolved, that the Board will pay in advance to the Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society the sum of $30 for every emigrant which that Society will undertake to transport from Maryland to Africa during the present year, and provide for their arrival in that country.

"Resolved, that the Board will loan to the Society such further sum as will, together with

the payment contemplated by the foregoing resolution, amount to a sum not exceeding $8,000, the said loan to be repaid by the Maryland State Colonization Society's transporting hereafter to Africa, at their own expense, emigrants at such a rate as the Board of State Managers may stipulate at the time of their embarkation."

At the same meeting a committee was appointed to address a letter on behalf of the Board to the American Colonization Society, at Washington, assuring it that in the steps contemplated by the Maryland Society nothing was intended savoring of rivalry or opposition to that Society's interest, but was prompted by a desire to make colonization successful in Maryland to the extent of entire emancipation; that if this could be done, not only would another free State be added to the free States of the Union, but an example all powerful in its influence would be afforded of the value and influence of colonization.

At the same time it was resolved that the name of the new settlement should be "Maryland in Liberia," that the device of the seal of the Society should be a pyramid and palm trees, grouped together as an emblem of Africa, with a cross above, from which rays descend upon the emblem, with the motto: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God;" the whole surrounded by the corporate title of the Society; and it was

further resolved, that the flag of the Society's settlements should be the flag of the United States, except that in place of the stars upon a blue field, there should be a white cross of equilateral arms.

On the 9th of October a resolution passed by the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society was received, trusting that the contemplated settlement would prove to the country at large the benefits of the colonization scheme and contribute to the colonization and happiness of the African continent. The Board of Directors further expressed their willingness to receive the emigrants by the first expedition at Monrovia or Bassa, until the Maryland Society was prepared to make a settlement of its own.

On the 16th of October it was resolved to appoint a general committee of nine to meet daily, at twelve o'clock, to expedite and superintend the expedition to Cape Palmas.[1]

[1] The committee were George Hoffman, Moses Sheppard, Solomon Etting, William George Read, Peter Hoffman, J. H. B. Latrobe, Franklin Anderson, Charles Howard, and Charles Carroll Harper. The most zealous and practically useful member of this committee was the late Solomon Etting, a retired merchant of the highest character, who gave to the Society the benefit of his great commercial knowledge and accuracy, aiding Dr. Hall throughout with the active energy of a younger man, and laying the State Society under obligations which cannot but be referred to when his name is mentioned.

The "turbulence and insubordination" of the first colonists has already been referred to, as well as the comments of the Memorial Volume in that connection. To obviate all excuse for like conduct by the emigrants to Cape Palmas and their successors, it was determined that they should carry with them a constitutional form of government, assented to in writing by each individual, to which later arrivals in the territory would necessarily be subject; and to this end Messrs. Read, Anderson and Latrobe had, on the 2nd of October, 1833, been appointed a committee to prepare "a constitution and form of government and digest of laws for the settlements of Maryland in Africa, with instructions to request the coöperation of David M. Perine and Hugh Davy Evans."[1]

On the 22nd of November, 1833, Mr. Latrobe, from the committee, reported a draft of a constitution and bill of rights to a full meeting of the Board of Managers, which unanimously adopted them.

The object of the State Society and the principles upon which it acted are so well set forth in the preamble to the constitution, that this part

[1] Mr. Perine's engagements did not permit him to act on the committee; neither did Mr. Evans'; although, at a later date, Mr. Evans became a member of the Board, and drew almost all the laws that the Society enacted.

of the instrument properly forms a part of the text.[1]

"The Maryland State Colonization Society of Maryland, one of the United States of America, to all persons to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

"Whereas, the Maryland State Colonization Society desires to hasten as far as they can the period when *slavery shall cease to exist in Maryland, and believing that this can best* be done by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization as the safest, truest and best auxiliary of freedom under existing circumstances, have determined to establish a settlement, or settlements, of free colored people and emancipated slaves, at or near Cape Palmas, on the west coast of Africa, to be called Maryland in Liberia; and whereas, it is not less the desire of the Society that the evil of slavery should be removed from Maryland, than

[1] "The meeting at which the Constitution was adopted, last Friday, was a very interesting one. By the time the documents presented to the Board of Managers were adopted, it was dusk, and two candles were brought into the large grand jury room in which the Board had met. The Constitution had been engrossed on a skin of parchment, with the seal of the Society attached, and Mr. George Hoffman, the President, was the first person called upon to sign it. He wrote his name in quite a John Hancock style, and then said, 'May the blessing of Heaven rest upon the work that we have now commenced.' The room, by this time, was quite dark, except around the two dim candles, and the remark of the President was wholly unexpected; but as soon as it was uttered there was a simultaneous Amen, in which all present most fervently joined."—*From a memorandum made the same evening.*

that the emigrants from the State should find their happiness and prosperity promoted by their change of home, and that through their instrumentality the blessings of civilization and the Gospel should be extended to a benighted land; and whereas, with these views it becomes the duty of the State Society to afford to the settlements they may cause to be established a system of equal laws, that shall secure to every emigrant and his descendants the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—therefore be it known, that the Maryland State Colonization Society do hereby solemnly enact the following constitution as the basis and foundation of government of any and every settlement or colony which may be established as aforesaid under their auspices and control in Africa, ratifying and confirming the same, according to its tenor, to all emigrants to such settlements, and their descendants, so long as the power of government shall continue to be exercised by the Maryland State Colonization Society."

The first article then declares that the State Society may from time to time make and ordain laws, rules, &c., not repugnant to the Constitution, until they withdraw their agents and yield the government wholly into the hands of the people of the Territory.

The second article provides that any emigrant of full age shall sign a declaration to support the

Constitution and an agreement to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, except in case of sickness.

The third article declares that no person shall hold any office who either uses or traffics in ardent spirits.

The fourth relates to the good faith to be kept with the natives.

The fifth that no taxes shall be laid except for the purpose of defense, internal improvement, education and the support of the local goverment. Duties and port charges for the same purposes to be imposed from time to time at the discretion of the Society.

The sixth that all elections shall be by ballot, the qualifications to be fixed by the Society.

The seventh article includes the Bill of Rights, and provides for religious toleration, trial by jury, prohibits slavery, and may be described as containing the provisions that are to be found in like instruments in most of the States of the Union.

The eighth provides for amendments.

At the same meeting, Mr. Latrobe reported "An Ordinance for the Temporary Government of the Territory of Maryland in Liberia," consisting of forty-five articles compiled from various sources, the idea being mainly suggested by Nathan Dane's (so-called) ordinance for the Government of the Northwest territory, and was intended to meet the

exigencies of a comparatively ignorant people beginning a political existence.[1] It provided for the division of the territory into townships; enacted a law of descents; simplified the transfer of property by deeds and wills; provided for the proof of, and the recording of such instruments; made both real and personal property assets in the hands of the administration subject to the wife's dower; provided for the appointment of guardians and the division of the property of the deceased; for the appointment of the Society's agent who was to be governor for two years, prescribing his duties; for the appointment by him of a secretary, of justices of the peace and constables; for the election, by the qualified voters, of a vice-agent, two counsellors, a register, a sheriff, a treasurer and a committee on new emigrants; for the election in each township of three select men, and prescribing the duties of all elective officers. The qualified voters were to be all male colored people twenty-one years of age, who had subscribed the oath to support the constitution and held land in their own right, or who, not holding land, paid a tax of at

[1] The members of the board present when the Constitution was signed were: George Hoffman, President; John H. B. Latrobe, Corresponding Secretary; John Hoffman, Treasurer; James Howard, Recording Secretary; Nicholas Brice, Nathaniel Williams, Alexander Nesbit, Vice-Presidents, and Moses Sheppard, Peter Hoffman, Solomon Etting, Charles Howard, Charles C. Harper, Sam'l Baker, John J. Harrod, E. G. Edrington, Wm. George Read and Franklin Anderson.

least one dollar for the purposes of education and the support of government. No person to be eligible to office who did not know how to read and write.

The ordinance provided also for a Court of monthly sessions, "to have jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases not committed to justices of the peace," for the clerk and his duties, and for juries; no person to serve as juryman unless of the age of twenty-five years, of good name and repute, and knowing how to read and write. A storekeeper was to be appointed by the agent, a surveyor, an inspector of arms, a collector, a public auctioneer and a librarian. Public schools were carefully provided for, and a militia; traffic in ardent spirit was prohibited, as well as traffic generally with the natives, without a license from the agent, except for labor, food and clothing for the use of the emigrant. Grants of land were to be made to emigrants, and no person was permitted to hold land in the colony who did not reside therein. The pardoning power was given to the agent; and bed and bedding, wearing apparel, cooking utensils and an axe and hoe were exempted from execution.

The ordinance concluded with providing for the assumption by the emigrants of their own government; up to which time all commissions, patents, deeds of public lands, rules and regulations were

to be in the name of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

The letter of instructions to Dr. Hall was submitted along with the constitution and the above ordinance, was approved, and directed to be recorded in full in the letter book of the Society. Along with the instructions, a resolution was adopted directing Dr. Hall, in making a purchase of territory, to use every effort to prevent ardent spirit forming a part of the consideration, even though an increased expenditure of other articles would be required in their stead. On this point there was much discussion in the Board of Managers, and it furnished the only question on which a vote was taken by yeas and nays during the many years of the Society's active operations. There were members who refused to authorize any departure from the constitutional provision in regard to temperance; others again were unwilling to put all that had been done at hazard, in the face of Dr. Hall's assurance that no instance had been known of a purchase of land from the natives without rum. The last prevailed and the resolution was passed, leaving the matter to Dr. Hall's discretion.[1]

[1] When the vote was taken, Messrs. Hoffman, Harper, Brice, Nesbit, Williams, Howard, Edrington and Latrobe, 8, voted in the affirmative; and Messrs. Baker, Etting, Anderson and Sheppard, 4, in the negative. Mr. Read wrote a letter saying that he would have voted, No.

At last, with every want that could be anticipated supplied, the brig Ann, of 160 tons, W. C. Langdon, Master, hauled into the stream to take her powder on board, on the 27th of November, 1833, and the flag of Maryland in Liberia, the nation that was yet to be, was for the first time floated; and on the 28th, Dr. Hall, with the Reverend John Hersey, who had been appointed assistant agent a few days before, and the Reverend J. Leighton Wilson and S. R. Wynkoop, Missionaries of the American Board of Foreign Missions, went on board.[1] It was a bleak November day when the Ann weighed anchor, and in old times the clouded skies and the misty rain, and the fact that the agent had to be carried from a sick bed to his berth in the cabin would have been ominous of failure.

Deeply impressed with the grave responsibilities they had assumed, the foregoing narrative shows how, up to the sailing of the Ann,

[1] The emigrants on the Ann were Joshua Stewart, 24 years old, his wife, 23 and an infant son; James Stewart, 19; Parnela Dellanott, Mrs. Stewart's sister, 15; William Cassel, 25; his wife, 31; one son, 2 years; Jacob Gross, 45; his wife, 33, and five children, the eldest 10 years; Nicholas Thompson, 40; Eden Wilson, 29, and John Jones. Of these, Stewart was a tailor and cooper; Cassell, who returned to the United States after some years in Africa, studied law in the office of Hugh Davy Evans, and went back to Liberia as Chief Justice, a sadler; Jacob Gross, a farmer, a most excellent man in all respects; Thompson was a farmer and brickmaker; Nelson, a rough carpenter, and Jones, a boatman. The adults all signed the Constitution before embarking.

the Board of Managers had tried to discharge it.

Looking back over the half century that has since gone by, it would seem to be but a little thing that had been done, even though the Board of Managers had been made the agents practically of the State of Maryland, by what has been here detailed. But it was not so considered at the time, and the entire community here in Baltimore looked with interest and anxiety for the news of the arrival out of the Ann. She was a poor sailer; and her voyage would have been tedious enough, had not a brisk north-wester set in before she had cleared the river, which continued down the bay and across the Atlantic, until the vessel arrived off St. Ann's shoals, within the coast influences. Here she lay for days without other movement than a dead heavy roll in the swells of the sea; and until Dr. Hall's impatience to reach Cape Palmas before the rains set in, led him to embark in a lateen sail boat that he had provided for such an emergency; and in company with the Reverend Mr. Wilson, a sailor and two of the emigrants, leave the Ann, at what was virtually at anchor, for his destined port. The little craft was soon wafted out of sight of the brig and after midnight the land breeze gave quite as much wind as was wanted; and on the morning of the third day land was made, and on the fifth Monrovia was reached

and the agent began to collect recruits. Public meetings were held, and in a few days thirty volunteers were enrolled ready for service. The Ann appeared in due time, and on the sixth day from Dr. Hall's arrival, sailed with all on board to Leeward, stopped at Bassa, where four more volunteers were obtained, and on the 11th of February, came to anchor in the roadstead of Cape Palmas, seventy-five days from Baltimore. While at Monrovia Dr. Hall had secured the services of George R. McGill and James M. Thompson. Mr. McGill was from Baltimore, had had a large experience during some years' residence in Africa, was an educated man, and subsequently became assistant agent at Cape Palmas. Mr. Thompson, who joined Dr. Hall to act as secretary of the colony, was a person of rare qualifications and was a most valuable addition; though, perhaps, Dr. Hall's most valuable acquisition, for the moment, was a Cape Palmas native, who happened to be at Monrovia when the Ann arrived, and who rendered great assistance in the negotiation for the purchase of the territory.

The news of another settlement had found its way to Leeward, and the people of Cape Palmas were not unprepared for the grand Palaver which was held on the 12th.

As was anticipated, the item of rum was insisted upon as a *sine quâ non* by the natives, when, after

they had agreed to sell, the question of the consideration came up; and, for a time, everything was at sea. Dr. Hall was peremptory, however. After enumerating the trade goods that he was willing to give in exchange for the territory, he said: "My master gave me these to buy a home for these people. If you take what I offer, good; if not, I go my way." Finally, he proposed to give, as a substitute for many articles used in English and German trafficking in which he was deficient, so many silver dollars, with the exact and comparative value of which every trader on the coast was familiar; and this being accepted as the sun declined, the Palaver was "set," as the natives termed it, and the morrow was fixed for "making book," or executing the deeds; and on the 14th of February, 1834, Parmah, King of Cape Palmas; Baphro, King of Grand Cavally, and Weak Bolio, King of Grahway, on the one part; and James Hall, agent for the Maryland State Colonization Society, on the other; in the presence of George R. McGill and James M. Thompson, completed the conveyance, by which the kings respectively granted and sold to the Maryland State Colonization Society the following tract of land "of which we are at this time lawfully seized by right of possession and descent, including all the rivers, bays, creeks, anchorages, timber and mines on the same, that is to say, [here follows the

description,][1] reserving so much of said territory as is now under cultivation by the inhabitants thereof, or such as is occupied by us or our descendants as towns or villages, with the right of passing and repassing up and down all rivers and creeks and of traversing all sections of the country not inhabited by colonists of the said Society; the said Society to have and to hold the said land for its special benefit and behoof forever; and we do agree to warrant and defend the same against all persons whatever; the said Society to have the power by its factors or agents to exercise all authority in the above-named territory, reserving to ourselves and our descendants the right of governing and settling all palavers among our own people so long as we shall see fit to occupy any part of said territory; and we do hereby acknowledge ourselves as members of the Colony of Maryland in Liberia, so far as to unite in common defence in case of war or foreign aggression."

The deed then enumerated the trade goods forming the consideration; and, on the part of the Society, it was agreed that within one year from date free schools should be established for the benefit of the native children, one at Cape Palmas, one at Grahway, and one at Grand Cavally.[2]

[1] For the deed in full, see Appendix.

[2] The performance of this stipulation was afterwards assumed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Cape Palmas, the easternmost of the territory conveyed by the three kings, is a narrow headland or promontory, about seventy-five feet above the level of the sea, once evidently an island, united to the main by a sandy beach, or isthmus, from which the ground ascends gradually to the interior. Approached from the north-west, the outline of the Cape is that of three gentle eminences; that nearest the sand beach being occupied in part by the conical huts of King Freeman's chief village which overlooks the isthmus. On the windward side of the promontory, it is washed by a river navigable for several miles by boats, and within the bar of which vessels of forty or fifty tons may be anchored, or be fastened to the wharf, which, at a later day, was built by the colonists. Without a mangrove swamp in the neighborhood, and with a wide extent of arable land beyond the sand beach, either already under cultivation or offering excellent agricultural facilities, nothing that had been promised by Dr. Hall in his letter to Dr. Ayres was wanting. The only wonder was that such a site for a colony had been overlooked on the voyage of exploration which in 1816 resulted in the selection of Cape Mesarada.[1]

[1] In a letter dated April 24th, 1834, Dr. Hall describes the purchase as "resembling the lowlands of Hayti, on which were once the most extensive sugar and coffee plantations in the world." On the 27th January, 1835, the Rev. J. L. Wilson writes, "The location has been a very fortunate one,

The first question that offered itself after the completion of the purchase, was the site of the settlement. Two sites presented themselves; one on the Cape, the other on the mainland beyond the plain already mentioned. Each had its advantages. If the latter were chosen the emigrants could, at once, have their farm lots located and begin to cultivate them; while on the Cape there was no room for agricultural improvement, and small town lots only could be awarded to the new comers.

Dr. Hall, with great wisdom, chose the Cape. A settlement on the mainland would be at the mercy of the natives, who might, at any time cut it off from the landing place and starve it into submission to any terms they might choose to exact, if they had preferred its plunder to its destruction. Upon the other hand, the settlement, if made, as it was, upon the cape, would be comparatively inde-

both as to elimate and a fertile soil," and Mrs. Wilson, describing the Mission at Fairhope, close by the Cape, says, "There are but few stations, perhaps, where the beauty and majesty of nature are more harmoniously united. On the south, and very near our door, the sea rolls up its waves. On the east we have a beautiful salt lake, extending as far as the eye can reach leeward, but not more than an eighth of a mile in width. The north presents a rich and verdant plain, through which winds a fresh water stream, that we can trace with the eye a great distance from our piazza. On the west we have at one view three native towns and the colonial settlement." Mr. Burt, the supercargo of the Eliza, writes, August 26, 1835, "that the natural advantages are greater than those of any other point on the coast. The anchorage and landing are decidedly the best I have seen."

pendent. Access to the ocean would be open; and the artillery—consisting of one six-pounder, on two wheels, which was a part of the outfit in the Ann—if planted on the central eminence which commanded the native town, would give Dr. Hall an advantage which King Freeman fully appreciated afterwards. Nor was it long before the wisdom of the selection was made apparent.

On the 16th of April, 1834, the emigrants had recovered from the acclimating fever without loss, and on the 2nd of June all the town lots but one were cleared, fenced and planted. A large kitchen and rice house, twenty-four feet by sixteen, one and a-half stories high, had been built of African materials except flooring plank and doors. Also a stockade fort and jail, and a native house seventy-two feet by sixteen, for the reception of new emigrants, and two others of half that length each. The colonists had erected twelve framed houses, and four were already shingled and occupied; all were to be completed within a month; and two stone buildings, one of them two stories in height, were going up." In a word, things were already assuming the appearance of a settlement of civilized men.

On the 20th of June, Dr. Hall issued a proclamation setting apart the 4th of July, 1834, as a

day of public thanksgiving and prayer, concluding, after an enumeration of the many reasons for thankfulness, thus:

"Being thoroughly impressed with a deep sense of favor so signally bestowed upon us by the great Disposer of Events, I do hereby appoint Friday, the fourth of July next, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, and I do request that all the inhabitants of this colony will, on that day, cease from any unnecessary labor; and that they will assemble at our usual place of public worship and there join in rendering fervent thanks to Almighty God for His abundant mercies and special favor bestowed upon us individually and as a community; that we repent of our numerous offences according to his revealed law and the dictates of our own consciences; that we earnestly supplicate a continuance of His guardian care and providence, and that he may so endow us with His Divine influence that our doings may be acceptable to Him, beneficial to ourselves as individuals, and alike honorable and profitable as members of this infant republic.

"Done at Cape Palmas this 20th day of June, 1834.

"James Hall, *Governor.*"

As a consequence of the close connection now existing between the State of Maryland and the

State Colonization Society, through the Commissioners of the State fund, the annual meetings of the Society were generally held at Annapolis during the sessions of the Legislature; and on the 23rd of January, 1836, the Society met in the senate chamber, where resolutions were offered by Mr. J. D. Maulsby, of Harford; Colonel Emory, of Queen Anne's, of the Senate; Colonel Chapman, President of the Senate; Colonel Ely, of Baltimore County, and others, approving the course of the Board of Managers, urging the formation of auxiliaries throughout the State, and requesting the clergy to take up collections for the benefit of the Society on the 4th of July.

By the 29th of December, the colonists had turned their attention to farming, and most of the farm lots had been cleared and fenced, and things generally had fallen into a regular routine.

Circumstances had, for some time, made the agent the supreme authority, and it was fortunate that this was in the hands of a practical business man, who was also a very determined one.

After the sailing of the Ann for home, the King of Cape Palmas, believing that the stock of provisions was becoming short, prohibited Dr. Hall from trading with any tribe but his own for rice; replying to the governor's reference to the treaty of purchase, that he, King Freeman, would do as

he pleased. Whereupon the governor told him, "That unless the people of Rocktown were permitted to bring in provisions the colonists would starve; that they were as willing to die in one way as in another; and that if the king attempted to stop by force any trade coming to the colony, or intercepted trade goods that might be sent for rice, war would begin, and would not end while one American was left alive on the Cape, or until every native town in gun-shot of the fort had been destroyed."

Making preparation accordingly, Dr. Hall despatched his boat, the following morning, as usual, to Rocktown; when the king sent word, "that it was all a mistake; and that he was sorry for the trouble he had given!" This ended all difficulty in regard to traffic; and Dr. Hall realized the practical importance of having the native village and the landing place under the fire of his artillery of a single gun.

Nor was the above the only occasion that illustrated the value of the very meagre battery that Dr. Hall had at his command. The natives seemed to be constitutionally thieves. "They would slip their hands," says Dr. Hall, "through the watling of the houses and strip the bed-clothes from the sick." When he became strong enough, the governor insisted that the king should pay the value of the stolen goods. Presently, however, a colonist

was detected with cassada stolen from a native's field. Naturally enough, King Freeman wanted to know why the governor would not pay, in the same way, for the thefts of his people. "I have a law that punishes theft," explained Dr. Hall, "and you have not, although it is in your power to make one." Fully comprehending this, and learning that the governor's law came from America, the king determined to have a law from the same source; and when Dr. Hall returned to the United States, Simleh Ballah, "the king's mouth," came with him to procure it. In the meanwhile, however, the king appointed two native justices, and two constables to detect and punish theft.

In due time, Simleh Ballah appeared before the Board, and said, "I'm Ballah, head man for King Freeman, of Cape Palmas. Him send me dis country. I come for peak his word. Pose him savee book, I no come. He make book and send him; but 'cause he no savee make book, I come for look country and peak him words." He then described the condition of his people before the colonists came, and the advantages of the settlement to the natives, ending by saying that the king told him to beg that more men be sent "for make home, make farm, for bring money, and for make all little childs savee read book all same America man. I done."

Simleh Ballah was a stalwart, very black man, of a good presence, with the inner corners of his two upper teeth filed away and having a blue line tattooed from the root of his hair along his nose down to his chin. He was as cool and collected before the Board as though he were holding a palaver at home. A brief and simple code was prepared for King Freeman, which will be found in the appendix.[1]

The influence of the colony and the governor was illustrated on another occasion in connection with a trial by the Sassa wood ordeal.

[1] Simleh Ballah was a fine specimen of his people. While in Baltimore, his residence was in the Secretary's house; and during the preparation of the code, its articles were discussed in the evenings, when the messenger was invited to the parlor and held a palaver, nothing being accepted without his fully understanding and assenting to it. When the article was read declaring that no man should have more than one wife at a time, Simleh Ballah objected, saying that he had six, that if restricted to one he would take the youngest, when, as no one would take the others, they must starve; whereupon postponing the consideration of the particular article, the next was taken up. On the following evening, for many evenings were consumed in the discussions, Simleh Ballah began the palaver, by saying he had "looked his head" (reflected,) during the night, and was quite ready to adopt the article, in a qualified way; "that be good law," he said, "for his pickaninny, but not for him. He would say to his pickaninny 'you want wife, look good you no hab two wife:' good law for pickaninny, bad law for Simleh Ballah." The idea of *ex post facto* legislation was thoroughly understood by the "King's mouth." On another occasion, during a palaver, Simleh Ballah asked, "Massa Tobe," as he called the Secretary, "God man [missionary] say, all bad men he burn, you tink so?" "The good book says so, Simleh," was the reply. At this time two sons of the

All sudden deaths of the middle-aged and active were often attributed to witchcraft, when, to prove the innocence of the person charged by the Gree-gree man, he was obliged to drink large quantities of a decoction of the bark of a poisonous tree called Sassa wood. If he survived, he was deemed innocent. One of the head men, who had uniformly befriended the colony, was charged with bewitching the family of a rival, and condemned to the ordeal. On hearing this, Dr. Hall called a palaver (a negotiation with the king and head men) and endeavored to have the man released: but altogether in vain. On returning home, he was informed that if a superior in rank were to take the accused by the hand

Secretary were in the room. Looking at them, Simleh Ballah said, "Massa Tobe, Pose your pickaninny he be bad? you burn your pickaninny, all men he be God pickaninny, God no burn his pickaninny." Whereupon, the discussion of the code was resumed, and the theological question, which is only referred to as an indication of the character of the man's mind, was not continued.

The following is the letter from King Freeman, of which the Reverend J. Leighton Wilson, who acted as amanuensis for the king, says, that it is in the words used by him "as nearly literal as it is possible for me to write them."

"King Freeman to the Gentlemen of the Colonization Board of Baltimore, Nahaveo, [greeting]:

"Mr. Wilson he be hand for me, and Simleh Ballah be mout for me for make dis book; but de word come from my own heart. He be true. I send Simleh Ballah for look you; he eye be all same as me eye, and dat word he peak be all same he come out me own mout. You do Balla good when he lib to your hand, dat be all same you do good for King Freeman. I tank you for dat. Ballah tell me you hab fine country. I believe what he say, cause he no fit for tell lie. I tank you berry much for dem cash you send me. I like um plenty, and go keep um all de time. But I tank

when the potion was about to be administered, he could clear him; but would assume the responsibility and be liable to supply his place or pay a heavy fine. On hearing this, Dr. Hall, cripple as he was at the time, set off for the sand beach just as the wives and children of the victim were being driven off after their last farewell. About five hundred people were collected in a hollow square, in the middle of which the Gree-gree man, in full panoply, was just raising a two gallon pot, filled to the brim with the decoction, to the lips of the accused. Breaking through the square, Dr. Hall took the man by the hand, saying as he did so, that he would satisfy any one who had cause of

you berry much for dem law you send me. He be good law, and all my people go do him. Pose hab dem law first time, I no go do fool fash all time. Dis time I go make all my people do dat ting what you law tell me. I tank you plenty, gentlemen, for dem good law. I tell all men go hear Misser Wilson talk God palaver, and yisserday so much man go till plenty hab for to stand outside de house.

"Soon Ballah go for Merica first time me go long way bush and tell all man say he must make fine road and bring plenty trade for Cape Palmas. Me heart tink say he guin do him soon.

"Me hear say you hab plenty slave in your country, me hab one word for peak dem. You must come me country den you be free man for true. Dis country be big and plenty room lib here. Pose you come, I peak true, me heart be glad plenty for look you.

"Pose any gentleman want come, me want him for come too. Me heart be glad for see dem too much.

"Me word be done now. I tank you berry much for you dash and you law. I go lub you till me dead. Me send you one county chair for you look at. Me go put pickaninny country word for you see.

"A good child loves her father, he loves his mother.

"KING FREEMAN, *alias* PA NEMMAH."

complaint, and be responsible for all they could prove against his friend, and "marched him off," to use Dr. Hall's words, "amid the mingled shouts and execrations of friends and persecutors."

On the 24th of December, 1834, General B. C. Howard was elected President of the Society, on the death of Mr. George Hoffman.

On the 30th of December it was resolved that the town and township at Cape Palmas shall be called "Harper," in honor of the late Robert Goodloe Harper, who was among the first that advocated the cause of colonization in Maryland, and who devoted to its illustration and support the full force of his strong and comprehensive intellect.

By the 10th of January, 1835, the Board of Managers were in possession of the first map of their colony, sufficiently in detail to permit names to be affixed; and, not unnaturally, the members of the Board were commemorated so far as the material went.

Before long, it was deemed necessary to provide for taking care of the movable property of the Society, and for the protection of their commercial interests, which was done by a supplement to the

ordinance for the temporary government, passed on the 24th of February, 1835.

The Board had already been advised that ill-health would compel Dr. Hall to resign his commission as governor; and believing that the colony was so firmly established as to permit him to leave its affairs in other hands, he applied for leave to return to the United States. This was granted, of course, but with great reluctance and regret.

Looking to the circumstances of his appointment; to his presence opposite Cape Palmas, with the accidental possession of the volume containing the description of it, which he was thus prepared to verify; to his letter to Dr. Ayres, which reached the Board of Managers when they were hesitating in regard to the site of a new settlement; to his arrival in Baltimore on a wholly distinct errand when there was difficulty in the choice of the leader of the expedition which his letter had so largely contributed to promote; to his most remarkable fitness for the work, and to his willingness to return on the instant to Africa to undertake it; the Board of Managers felt that in parting with Dr. Hall they lost one who had entered into their service in a manner that might be well regarded as providential.

Uncertain, for the moment, as to their future course touching Dr. Hall's successor, the Board

accepted the offer of Mr. Oliver Holmes, Jr., of Baltimore, as special agent, to proceed to Africa and receive from Dr. Hall the property of the Society, and to act as temporary governor. This he did on the 4th of February, 1836.

The temporary character of Mr. Holmes' appointment, however, made it necessary to provide for a successor to Dr. Hall, as agent and governor. Hitherto white men only had had charge of colonies from the United States in Africa. The Board were satisfied that the time had now come to place a colored man in charge; which would relieve the colonists from the imputation of being still slaves in Liberia, under a white overseer, and at the same time vindicate the belief of the Board in the competency of the emigrants to exercise with credit the functions of government. After mature deliberation they selected Mr. John B. Russwurm, of Monrovia, as Governor of Maryland in Liberia; nor had they ever any occasion to regret their choice. His salary was fixed at $1,000, and $500 was added for the maintenance and support of his household and estate as governor.

It had not been long after Dr. Hall's arrival at Cape Palmas, in 1834, before he pressed upon the Board of Managers the importance of a coin for the colony, suggesting something like the Hay-

tien coin, so much below the standard Spanish dollar that it would not be exported. "At present," he said, "every colonist, in order to purchase provisions or pay a native for work, is necessitated to have on hand a full assortment of merchandise." There were many difficulties in regard to a coin, however, and nothing was done at the time; but it occurred to the Board of Managers that as tobacco had been made a currency in Maryland; cotton, for the production of which the soil was well adapted, might be made the currency, for the time being, of Maryland in Liberia; and, accordingly, the Board passed an ordinance "to promote the growth of cotton in the colony of Maryland in Liberia; to afford a circulating medium for the same, and to provide for the general welfare thereof." The ordinance provided for an inspector of cotton, made clean cotton a legal tender, at ten cents a pound, and provided in detail the machinery required to give the ordinance effect.[1]

The Board of Managers had more than once requested the government to order vessels of the United States, on the African station, to visit Cape Palmas instead of being confined to Monrovia; and in December, 1836, the Potomac cast anchor in the

[1] This ordinance never went into effect. By the time a sufficient quantity of cotton had been raised in the colony, another plan was adopted that obviated its necessity.

harbor, adding greatly to the *prestige* of the colony with the natives, who had been altogether incredulous as to the Americans ever having any large vessels of war.

Captain Nicolson's report was most favorable, "Already," he says, "with a population of only one hundred and ninety-one colonists, they have in cultivation forty-seven farms, laid out on each side of the Maryland Avenue, beyond Latrobe, chiefly of five acres, and a farm of fifty acres, intended as a model. They have a good road of four or five miles in different directions. Mr. Wilson, at the missionary establishment in Latrobe, has under his tuition about one hundred of the native children and a few adults.[1]

In 1837, Mr. John H. B. Latrobe was elected President of the Society, an office that he held until elected President of the American Colonization Society in 1853.

On the 29th of September, the Board passed an ordinance for the redress of injuries in the colony of Maryland in Liberia. This ordinance, which occupies 105 pages of the Book of Laws, printed

[1] Before Captain Nicolson left Cape Palmas he sent to the Governor a six-pounder grenade with the carriage complete, one barrel common powder, 400 musket ball cartridges, eighteen stand of grape for six-pounders, and other most acceptable ammunition and implements.

by the Board of Managers, was prepared with great care and after much consideration by Mr. Hugh Davy Evans, as well as one for the better administration of justice, and another for the better regulation of property in the colony of Maryland in Liberia. All demonstrated the legal knowledge and great practical skill of the author. The preparation of these ordinances was a labor of love with Mr. Evans, to which he devoted his whole time: nor can this occasion be permitted to pass without paying a tribute to one of the best, the most honest and the purest members of the Baltimore bar.[1]

During the agency of Mr. Russwurm, the want of a circulating medium was not less felt than Dr. Hall had found it, and on the 10th of October, 1837, the Board of Managers resolved that for the purpose of creating a circulating medium for the colony, and in view of the disadvantages to which the colonists are subjected for want of one, and it being thought that for the present a metallic one could not be kept in the Colony, there shall be prepared notes of the Society to the amount of

[1] When Maryland in Liberia, was absorbed in Liberia proper, it became subject to the laws of the latter State, and Mr. Evans' work ceased to be valuable as binding authority; but it may still be referred to as a monument of knowledge and skill in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society.

eight hundred dollars, afterwards increased to $1,450, be signed by the President, and before issued, countersigned by the Governor of Maryland in Liberia, which shall be receivable at the government store for goods purchased there.

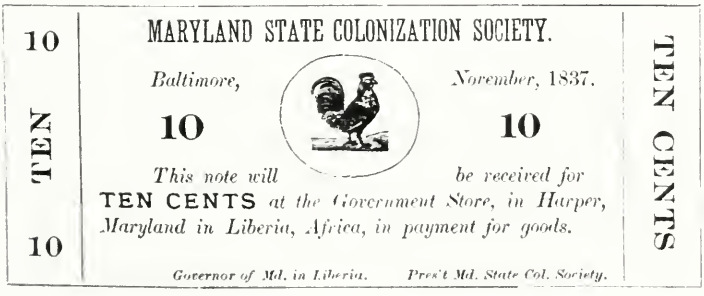
In order to make this paper currency, which was prepared in sums of 5, 10, 25, 50 cents and one dollar, acceptable to the natives, the Board of Managers were aided by a custom which required a purchaser to dash, or make a present of, a portion of the article bought, to each of the bystanders. It did not take the natives long to find out, that by selecting their own time for realizing these notes at the public store, they could save the objectional dashes. To help them to understand the value of the notes, a head of tobacco was engraved on the five-cent one, a chicken on the ten-cent, a duck on the twenty-five cent, two ducks on the fifty-cent one, and a goat was on the dollar note. These notes constituted the currency of the colony for years.[1]

[1] It had been intended to place a fac-simile of one of these notes in the Appendix, and the State Society's printer, or his successor, rather, who occupied the old stand and had fallen into possession of all the former's stock, was applied to, in the feeble hope that at the end of fifty years, the blocks from which the animals and the head of tobacco had been printed, might still be in existence: but it so happened that within a week only of the application they had been destroyed as worthless!

On the 15th of January, 1841, the Board of Managers appointed Dr. Hall their general agent, an office to which he added that of editor of the Maryland State Colonization Journal; and it is due to him to say that when the Board became interested in African trade on its own account, as a means of increasing its resources, its unusual success was largely, if not altogether, due to the experience, industry and integrity of their general agent.

Things had by this time settled down at Cape Palmas into the routine of a well-regulated community, and was attracting settlers whose relations were not in all respects provided for by the original ordinance. Further legislation became necessary, and on the 2nd of February, 1841, "a declaratory ordinance touching the sovereignty of Maryland in Liberia," was enacted.

This, after reciting the facts connected with the founding of the settlement, declares that under the



Constitution of 1833, Maryland in Liberia was, and of right ought to be, sovereign and independent of all authority not provided therein; that the constitution, and the laws, ordinances and treaties made under its authority were the supreme law of the land, to which all persons within the territory ought to conform; that emigrants from the United States and all persons born in the territory owed allegiance to the government of Maryland in Liberia and to none other; that residents merely, owed a temporary allegiance, without prejudice to the rights of the natives under the deeds from their kings and headmen, or treaties with them. The ordinance then declared who should be regarded as citizens; and enacted that the Government of Maryland in Liberia held its right of government and property in trust for the benefit of the citizens; and that no other person or persons in America had any beneficial interest in the government or property, which ought to be held and exercised for the purpose aforesaid.

The reason for the above ordinance was a difficulty that, in 1838, grew out of a fine imposed by a court-martial upon a colonist employed as a teacher in the Congregational Mission. The question of the sovereignty of the government of the colony was then discussed with one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign

Missions, who visited Baltimore for the purpose; when the views expressed in the above ordinance were maintained, and were referred to in a letter from the American Board, dated July 11th, in which it was "recognized that the agents of the State Society at Cape Palmas were the government of the territory ceded to the Society by the native owners and occupants; and that the missionaries and the assistant missionaries of the Board of Missions, residing in the territory, owed the same sort of deference to the government thus instituted as would be expected from foreigners in America."

In 1841, a similar question arose in regard to the right of Governor Russwurm to require civilized young men, in the employment of the Mission from Cape Coast and Sierra Leone, to perform military duty. When the matter was brought before the Board of Managers, the Governor's right was maintained.

Looking back, after the lapse of so many years, we may regret the necessity of raising this particular question, which led ultimately to the removal of the Congregational Mission; but the condition of the colony seemed to admit of no alternative. It is well stated by the committee. "The colony," it says, "being very small in numbers, with imperfect means of defence, and surrounded

by barbarian tribes, is continually exposed to assaults or invasion, which can only be repelled by every resident exerting his utmost energy in defence of the common weal. No one, therefore, of a small colony can be exempted from that military training which alone prepares a body of civilized and disciplined men to defend themselves against a more numerous but undisciplined enemy."

Another occasion for asserting the dignity of the colonial government, grew out of an appeal by the agent of the Congregational mission to the commander of the United States ship Vandalia, for redress against King Freeman, one of whose people was charged with having robbed the mission; when an officer was sent ashore, who, after a drum-head court martial, compelled the king to compensate the damage—the agent refusing peremptorily to resort to the colonial court for redress. As a matter of course, the Board of Managers protested against the proceeding to the American Board; when the latter at once admitted that an apology was due to the Society and to Governor Russwurm; attributing the occurrence to the absence of the chief of the mission, and the recent arrival and ardent temperament of the party committing the offence.

It is interesting to examine the record of the proceedings of the agent and Council at this period,

to observe how well the interior government of the colony had been provided for, and how smoothly the machinery was working; for example:—

On the 13th of April, 1839, "road masters were appointed, to have the same power as the select men. Fines were imposed for non-attendance at quarterly parades. On the 9th of December, preparations were made for celebrating the anniversary of the colony, February 22nd. Six guns were to be fired at sunrise to denote the age of the colony; thirteen at noon to denote the original number of the United States; and the same number at Mount Tubman, a settlement at the end of the Maryland Avenue, five miles inland. At the same meeting, Captain Anthony Wood, of the Latrobe Artillery, was appointed major of the military forces of Maryland in Liberia; and an order was passed that the committee on the subject meet on New Year's Day to award the premium to the owner of the best cultivated farm.

On the 28th of August, 1840, to shoot at, or kill deer or other game on the Sabbath was prohibited, under a penalty of ten dollars, one half to the informer.

These references are of interest in the same way that one is interested in watching the processes of bees in their glass hives.

Among other resolutions of the Governor and Council, about this time, was one imposing a duty

on imported articles and establishing an anchorage charge. So far as it fixed the import duty, it was revoked by the Board of Managers. The subject was a very important one, requiring grave consideration and involving the preparation of a system full of details, and to be adopted only after mature deliberation. In withholding their assent the Board, however, promised to take up the subject at an early day.

In their 10th Annual Report the Board of Managers say, "that at the end of seven years they can speak with confidence of the temperance principle, which they had made fundamental in the constitution; and they firmly believe that, under Providence, the remarkable success that has attended the settlement—a success to which history affords no parallel—the harmony that has prevailed between the colonists and the natives, are to be attributed to the strict observance of the colonial law in this respect."

In 1843, the colony had begun to attract visitors, who claimed exemption from its laws; and on the 24th of January an ordinance was enacted "for the better maintenance of the authority of the government of Maryland in Liberia," which provided that all persons above the age of fourteen years who should arrive in the colony, except com-

manders, officers, and other persons attached to vessels of war, and the masters, supercargoes and officers and seamen of merchant vessels, and such passengers as merely called with no intention of remaining, should report themselves within ten days after their arrival to the colonial secretary: and the ordinance went on to provide the mode of carrying the law into effect, and enacted further, a mode by which colored persons might become citizens.

The above ordinance is referred to as showing that the authority of the Board of Managers in Africa was not always, in the beginning, admitted as frankly as it had been by the missionary board in the discussion already spoken of.

In 1843, a light-house, that had been erected of stone not long after the settlement on the Cape, was furnished with an apparatus from England, the light being visible twenty miles at sea. Before this, light had been supplied by an iron vessel filled with palm oil to feed a wick, until something better was obtained; very much in the same way that the headlands of Great Britain were lighted by fires kept burning in iron vessels in the olden times.

On the second of November, 1843, the Board of Managers complied with their promise, and sent to

the colony an ordinance "to raise a revenue for the support of government in the colony of Maryland in Liberia, and for other purposes." This, before going into operation, was submitted to Governor Russwurm and its provisions were made known to the colonists. These desired that, "if any duty was to be levied," it should be upon sales and not upon imports. On this point the Board would not yield. Such a duty as the colonists preferred was essentially an excise, requiring for its enforcement a power to collectors to make searches, administer oaths, and exercise authority inconsistent with liberty.

The time spent in these discussions, however, was not wasted. A tariff of duties was at last fixed which was satisfactory, when accompanied with a warehouse system, which obviated the objection that only those who could afford to advance the duties could engage in trade.

Finally, an ordinance was passed on the 9th of July, 1846. The forms were those in use in the United States, adapted to the circumstances of the colony. In the preparation of both ordinances the Board of Managers had the assistance of a member of the committee, Dr. James H. McCulloh, long deputy-collector in the Baltimore custom house, a gentleman distinguished not only for his moral worth, but for his great learning and

research. It is not necessary to enter into the details of a tariff which has long since ceased to exist, or to have other interest than as showing the nature of the duties of the Board of Managers while executing their sovereign powers in promoting the happiness and prosperity of a people which finally became an independent nation under their auspices.

The revenue from the tariff for the first seven months after it went into operation was $500, and the following year's estimate was $1,200.

In their report for 1845, the Board of Managers were able to announce that the Society was out of debt, awarding to Dr. Hall, the home and general agent, the credit due to the judicious economy on both sides of the Atlantic that had produced this result.

In 1845, the State of Maryland had not extricated herself from the condition in which she was placed by the failure, in 1837, to meet the interest on her public debt; and on the 18th of January, 1845, the chairman of the committee of ways and means, of the House of Delegates, wrote to the President of the Society to know, whether the annual contribution of $10,000 could not be dispensed with. "There is a disposition," the chairman says, "to convert it from that object to the

payment of interest on the public debt, and the committee are directed to enquire into the expediency of doing so. If possible to spare the money, do not throw any impediments in the way. The public mind is much tranquillized by these small savings."

In reply, after enumerating the sources of income on which the Society relied, independent of the State's appropriation, and going somewhat in detail into what had been accomplished, exceeding anything that had ever been effected, not only in Africa, but even in America; and dwelling upon the fact, that it was in reliance that the legislation of 1831 would not be interfered with, that the colonists left their old homes to establish new ones in Africa,—the President concluded by stating "that he could not believe that any saving that could be effected by diverting the appropriation would tranquillize the public mind as much as it would be disturbed by the loss of the colony upon whose future availability the prosperity of Maryland might most materially depend."[1]

It was with a feeling of great relief that the Board of Managers saw the Legislature adjourn without affecting the law of 1831. In truth, however, there was less risk than had been imagined. When the matter came to be

[1] This letter was written forty years ago, when public sentiment was very different from what it is to-day.

talked over among the members of the Legislature, as was afterwards ascertained, the very weakness of the colonists became a power when it appealed to the good faith and honor of Maryland.

Year after year collections had been made for the especial object of building a vessel for the use of the Society, but the amount had been comparatively insignificant; nor did the idea take a practical shape until after Dr. Hall became the general agent of the Society; when on the 25th of February, 1845, the Chesapeake and Ohio Trading Company was incorporated, "to carry on and maintain a line of packets between Baltimore and Liberia, and for carrying on lawful commerce on the coast of Africa." As soon as the company was organized, the State Society made over to it these collections, and agreed to guarantee an amount of freight and passage money annually of $2,000. This, with prior subscriptions, sufficed; and on the 9th of November, 1846, the Board of Managers attended the launch of one of the handsomest vessels that ever sailed from the port of Baltimore, duly christened the Liberia Packet.[1]

About this time the Board of Managers were asked to receive as an emigrant a person who had

[1] The Liberia Packet made 12 voyages to Cape Palmas. She was found to be too small for the increasing trade and was sold after the last voyage.

been convicted of a minor offence and pardoned on condition of emigration to Maryland in Liberia; and although their sympathies were with the individual, under some peculiar circumstances, the Board refused the application. To admit that the punishment of crime could be condoned by becoming a colonist, would place the colony in a light that the Board of Managers could not permit.

Although it had been deemed necessary to give to the agent, in the early days of the colony, certain judicial powers; yet it was necessary after the growth of the settlement in numbers and its extension inland, to separate the functions of the executive and judiciary; and on the 18th of May, 1847, an ordinance to that effect was enacted "for the better administration of justice in the colony of Maryland in Liberia," providing for the appointment by the State Society of a chief justice, to have all judicial power and authority not expressly prohibited or conferred upon others; for a court of monthly sessions; for the clerk, prescribing his duties; for an orphans' court, with the chief justice its chief judge and the register of the colony its clerk; for fixing the commissions of administrators, guardians and insolvents' trustees; making the chief justice presiding officer of the court of monthly sessions; requiring justices of the peace to send parties convicted of any offence to the chief

justice for sentence to labor on the public farm; providing for the absence of the chief justice; for vacancies in his office; for two associate judges of the court of monthly sessions; for admitting practitioners of law and for the repeal of inconsistent ordinances; and on the 6th of September, following, William Cassell was appointed chief justice.[1]

On the 14th of August, in the same year, the Board directed that "the ordinances passed up to that date, and printed by John D. Toy, under the supervision of Hugh Davy Evans, Esquire, should be confirmed as the laws of Maryland in Liberia, and that the book containing them, entitled, "The Constitution and Laws of Maryland in Liberia," with an appendix of precedents, published by the authority of the Society, second edition, is hereby approved and declared to be a standard edition of the said constitution and laws."[2]

Governor Russwurm having applied for leave of absence to visit the United States, Dr. Samuel F. M'Gill was appointed assistant agent in his absence on the 7th of April, 1848.

[1] Mr. Cassell had been one of the first settlers by the Ann; and after a residence of some years at Cape Palmas, returned to Baltimore to read law in the office of Hugh D. Evans, where he became, with Mr. Evans' special assistance in his studies, prepared for the office now given him.

[2] Copies of this volume were directed to be deposited in the Maryland State Library, at Annapolis, and in the Maryland Historical Society, where they are now to be found.

The members of the Board of Managers took advantage of Governor Russwurm's presence in Baltimore to make his personal acquaintance. They gave him a dinner at the principal hotel in the city, at which there were no absentees; and there was not one present who was not impressed by the grave, courteous and dignified bearing of the agent whose wise and prudent conduct of the Society's affairs in Africa had given such satisfaction.[1]

In 1850, the colony had been fifteen years in existence; and religious associations had been formed among the colonists that seemed to call for a mode of organizing them by law; and on the 18th of January an ordinance was enacted "to enable the citizens of Maryland in Liberia more conveniently to provide and maintain, at their own expense, public worship," enabling male persons of 21 years of age, belonging to any religious society, to make rules for their government in writing, and generally to have the authority ordinarily conferred in such cases.

[1] One, with difficulty recalls, now-a-days, the sensation that the idea of this dinner to a colored man in 1847, produced in Baltimore. It was ludicrous to see the astonishment of the Irish waiters, who surrounded the table at "Page's Hotel," when they were called upon to render the same service to a colored man that they were in the habit of rendering to the many socially prominent citizens who were his hosts.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held on the 21st of October, 1851, intelligence was received of the death of Governor Russwurm, who died at the Government House at Cape Palmas on the preceding 9th of June. He had held his office since 1836, with honor to himself and greatly to the advantage of the Society. Deeply impressed with the loss they had sustained, the Board of Managers deemed it proper to send an address to the citizens of Maryland in Liberia; in which, among other things, they say, in reference to his having been the first colored governor of a colony from the United States on the coast of Africa, "if white men have ceased to hold office or exercise authority among you, it is because the capacity of your race, if ever doubted, to fill the highest political offices with rare ability, has been vindicated by Governor Russwurm. . . . In the long career of happiness and prosperity which is opening to Liberia, its highest offices will doubtless be filled by people of worth and talent. But great and distinguished as these may be, their possessors may always resort with profit to your earliest history to gather from the records of Governor Russwurm's life the most honorable examples of prudence, wisdom and integrity."[1]

[1] At the same meeting it was resolved that a monument to the memory of Governor Russwurm should be erected at Cape Palmas. This was done at once. The design was an obelisk, on a heavy granite base, on which were

The assistant agent, Dr. Samuel F. M'Gill, was now acting governor; and in his despatches of July 12th, 1852, announced the prospective abolition, at last, of the sassa wood ordeal. A violent assault on a colonist who had endeavored to rescue a native woman from the Gree-gree man, was taken advantage of by Governor M'Gill to insist on a palaver, at which power was given to the colonial authorities which would have the effect of abolishing the custom.

On the 3rd of May, 1852, the General Assembly of Maryland continued the Act of 1831 for six years, "it being desirable that the appropriation of ten thousand dollars, per year, should be renewed and continued, so that the policy of the State in providing a home in Africa for the emancipated slaves and free colored population, and for their removal thither, may be carried on." The Board of Managers could have had no better proof of the satisfaction with which their proceedings were regarded than was thus afforded by the Act of 1852.

engraved the following inscriptions. On the north side, "In memory of John B. Russwurm, born 1799, died 1857;" on the south side, "Able, learned and faithful—an honor to his race;" on the east side, "The first Governor of African descent appointed in Liberia;" on the west side, "Erected by the Maryland State Colonization Society, as a tribute of respect for eminent services." The design of the monument, as erected, is shewn in the Md. St. Col. Journal, vol. 6, p. 349.

As might have been anticipated, the continued prosperity of the colony since its establishment in 1834, and the irksomeness of dependence upon remote legislation and control, had begotten a desire for independence that manifested itself by an address to the Board of Managers, dated November 15th, 1851, from a committee of the most prominent and useful citizens.

"The people," say the committee, "wish the Board to know that all they do is intended to meet their approval:" and then the committee go over the whole ground in a well prepared paper, which, on the 27th of July, was presented to the Board of Managers and referred to a committee, of which Mr. Charles Howard was chairman; and which reported, "that while on many accounts it would have been desirable that existing relations should remain on their present footing until the colony should have realized a larger emigrant population, and by a further development of its resources, have been prepared to assume a more commanding position as an independent nation, yet, the entire political separation which had taken place between the old Colony of Liberia and the Parent Society, and the recognition of the former and making treaties with it as an independent and sovereign power by England and France, had given to it a prestige which did not attach to our colony, and convinced the committee that the old colony

would continue to attract to itself by far the greater part of the most enterprising and best informed emigrants from the United States and from Maryland, until the citizens of Maryland in Liberia shall have assumed the same position by becoming independent of all foreign jurisdiction."

The committee, then, after expressing their preference for the formation of such an union with the elder colonies, as exists between the States of the United States, recommended, as a precedent, the course pursued in the separation of the older colony from the American Colonization Society.

Whereupon, it was resolved, that the citizens of Maryland in Liberia be advised to call a convention to prepare a constitution to be submitted to the people, and that they appoint commissioners to visit Maryland to agree with the Board of Managers upon the terms of the separation.

In due season, the chief justice, Mr. Cassell, and Mr. William A. Prout appeared in Baltimore as commissioners; and on the 12th of January, 1854, presented their credentials to the Board along with the constitution adopted by the people. This, after much discussion, was approved with a single exception. The temperance clause had been omitted; and not being willing to reject the entire instrument on this account, the Board of Managers contented themselves with saying that they trusted

that upon further reflection the people would reconsider their action, and would not abandon that part of their fundamental constitution which had so long tended to promote good order, morality and religion in the colony.[1]

Then followed the agreement, dated February 14th, 1854, between the Maryland State Colonization Society on the one part, and William Cassell and William A. Prout, Commissioners of the People of Maryland in Liberia, of the other part, which, if duly ratified within the space of twelve months by the people of Maryland in Liberia, was to be binding on the Society and on the government and people as aforesaid. See Appendix.

1. The Society agreed to cede all its public lands within the territory to the people and government of the republic, subject to the following conditions.

All future emigrants were to be allowed a farm lot of ten acres, or a town lot of one-quarter of an acre, in any new settlement. In future sales by the government, of public lands, every alternate farm, or section, or square mile to be left to be assigned to emigrants.

[1] It is proper to say that the citizens of Maryland in Liberia did reconsider their decision; and when their constitution was returned to them, they restored the prohibition of the use of or traffic in ardent spirits which they had stricken out.

Sales were to be by auction to the highest bidder. If public sales could not be effected private sales might be made.

The tracts reserved for emigrants might be exchanged for others of equal value, or sold; the proceeds to be devoted to public education.

Ten per cent. of all public sales of land were to be appropriated to the use of schools or for educational purposes.

The Society to have the right, as at present, of locating emigrants in any present or future settlements.

New settlements were to be made by the concurrent agreement of the government and the Society.

Land held for the use of emigrants to be exempt from taxation.

In the case of recaptured Africans, the Society were to have the right to claim and have set apart for their use, one hundred acres, as the Society might require, out of the public lands.

The Society to retain the public store and adjoining wharf, and the west half of the public farm.

All the property of the Society, with improvements made thereon, to be exempt from taxation while in the Society's hands.

2. The Society to introduce, free of duty, stores for the use of emigrants, or to be sold for provid-

ing for them. The Society's vessels to be free from anchorage or light duties.

3. Recaptured Africans to be admitted, should the United States require it, and provide for their support.

4. The Society gives to the government the governor's house, and public offices, forts and munitions of war and the warehouse belonging to the Society. All property not ceded by the articles to be reserved and disposed of by the Society at its discretion.

5. Future emigrants to have the same privileges as the present ones.

6. A merger by the present Society in a different one not to affect rights under the agreement.

7. The agreement to be modified by mutual consent; and, to go into effect on being ratified by the people of Maryland in Liberia.

With the execution of this agreement and its ratification by the people which followed in due course, the work of the Maryland State Colonization Society, although still incomplete as far as it related to the emigration from the State, came to an end, by the establishment of a free and independent nation, a member of the family of nations on the west coast of Africa, to which emancipated slaves or free colored people from Maryland might go, either at their own expense or with means still furnished by the State.

To facilitate their earlier progress, by aiding the authorities of the new government to pay the cost of their civil list, the State Society contributed, in the beginning, under a separate agreement, the particulars of which would have no interest now.

All that has thus far been described was within the personal knowledge of the writer, either as corresponding secretary of the State Society, up to 1837, or as its president, up to 1853, when he became president of the national institution; and as has been already suggested, it is this personal knowledge, which, at all events, facilitates the understanding of recorded proceedings, that has made it seem to be the duty of the writer to narrate a history, which, having no place in the history of the State up to this time, might otherwise be lost. What took place after 1853 was under the wise and admirable administration of the late Mr. Charles Howard; a noble gentleman, an upright Christian man, whose correspondence and reports in the records of the State Society afford the amplest evidence of the worth and ability of the president; and yet both Mr. Howard and his predecessor would have been comparatively feeble in the management of the affairs of the Society in Africa, and its business transactions in America, had not both enjoyed the benefit of the services of Dr. James Hall, the founder of the colony after he

had vindicated the suggestion of its site, and after 1841, the general agent and manager of the Society.

On the 29th May, 1854, an election of Governor of "the State of Maryland in Liberia," as it was now called under the popular constitution, was held, and William A. Prout was elected Governor, and William S. Drayton Lieutenant Governor; Senators, Representatives, a High Sheriff and a Coroner were elected at the same time, and Thomas Mason was appointed Secretary of State. On the 8th June, 1854, the Governor was inaugurated, and Dr. Samuel F. M'Gill, the acting Governor appointed by the State Society, and its agent, administered to him the oath of office, and relinquished the government into his hands.

On the 9th Governor Prout was presented to the native kings and headmen; the change that had taken place was explained and "dashes" were given proportionate to the occasion. "*Le Roi est mort, vive le Roi.*"

The independence of the State of Maryland in Liberia did not by any means terminate its relations to the State Society. The State's appropriation was not exhausted, and emigrants were still sent from Maryland. The business in the way of

trade, that had contributed so largely to the means of the State Society still continued. The legislative functions of the Board of Managers had come to an end; that was all. Hereafter it could only advise. The infant had attained its majority, and the guardian's right to command had ceased.

While reference is made here to the State's appropriation, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the State Society had been altogether dependent upon the $10,000 per annum in accomplishing the results that have been here described. A balance sheet made up to December 31, 1857, for example, showed a credit to profit and loss of $139,972.31, over and above collections, amounting, at that date to $45,385.74; and, in all the reports of the commissioners of the State fund under the Act of 1831, care is taken to state that the contributions of the State Society to the general object had enabled the commissioners to devote the whole of the State's appropriations to the transportation of emigrants and to providing for their reception in Africa, all the expenses of the government there, and of the Society in America, being otherwise provided for.

Governor Prout died during his term of office, and Lieutenant Governor B. S. Drayton took his place. It was under his administration that the

native war began which was the immediate cause of the absorption of the new State into the older one of Liberia proper. Without the cautious and sagacious and patient temper of his predecessors, Governor Drayton's course has been said to have brought on a conflict resulting in many deaths on both sides, which made it necessary to apply to the authorities at Monrovia for assistance. It so happened, most remarkably, that when the application came, Dr. Hall happened to be at Monrovia in the Mary Caroline Stevens[1] on a visit to Africa. With his usual energy and with means belonging to the State Society at command, he at once supplied what was wanting to equip 115 uniformed troops that he carried in the Stevens to Cape Palmas, where his influence, that had not yet died out, backed by military force, soon produced peace, and a treaty was concluded with the natives on equitable terms.

[1] The Mary Caroline Stevens was built in Baltimore for the American Colonization Society. Mr. John C. Stevens, of Talbot County, Maryland, had made the munificent donation of $37,000 to be appropriated to the building of a vessel to be held in trust for colonization purposes. It was first proposed by Mr. Stevens that the Maryland State Society should become the recipient of his bounty, and be the beneficiary owners of the vessel; but he was advised that the State Society would not be justified in keeping such a ship constantly employed; the title of the vessel was accordingly vested in three officers of the American Colonization Society, to be held in trust for it; while, by stipulations with the State Society, the latter secured the right to transport emigrants by her. She sailed on her first voyage at the close of November, 1856. This vessel continued in the trade for six years, when she was sold and replaced by the Golconda, of greater capacity.

Prior to this war, the question of annexation to Liberia proper had been mooted among the citizens. The war and the value of the assistance rendered from Monrovia settled it; and it was not long before negotiations were begun which ended in the absorption of the territory, that had been acquired from time to time by the State Society, into the Republic of Liberia, as Maryland County.[1]

In 1858, the Legislature continued the appropriation for colonization purposes under the Act of 1831 for five years, reducing the amount however to $5,000 annually; and there had been three payments at this rate when the late Civil War broke out. The whole question of slavery then assumed a new aspect; and the commissioners of the State fund, under the belief that the Act of 1858 had been abrogated virtually by the course of events, made no requisition for the last two payments.

Ceasing to have any peculiar interest in the colony at Cape Palmas when the new State of Maryland in Liberia ceased to exist, the activity of the State Society died out; and realizing after a negotiation with the American Colonization Society the sum of $6,000 out of a loan to it when the Mary Caroline Stevens was on the stocks, the

[1] For the acquisitions of the State Society, see Appendix.

State Society invested it in Pittsburgh and Connellsville 7 per cent. railroad bonds, which are held by Dr. James Hall, trustee for the benefit of the "Hall School" at Cape Palmas; and the interest on which is regularly collected by the Liberian authorities, and appropriated to the salary of $300 to the teacher, and the other expenses of the school.

The organization of the State Society still continues, but it is only in connection with this trust.

Here, the episode of the State of Maryland's action in connection with African colonization, and of the sovereignty which a Society acting under its auspices exercised for twenty years in Africa, might end; but it may not be uninteresting to describe the appearance of things at Cape Palmas when the government there passed into the hands of the successors of the State Society, as well as to say a few words in regard to the collateral advantages which the chief city of the State derived from the operations of the Society during its active existence.

The extent of improvements at Cape Palmas soon after Dr. Hall had taken possession have already been described. A word more in regard to it at the date of independence.

In the town of Harper, on the Cape itself, besides the Government House, which had been largely added to and improved, there was a stone light-house, whose lantern, visible twenty miles at sea, had been imported by the colonists from England. Hard by, were the Episcopal Orphan Asylum and St. Mark's Hospital, the former a frame building, three stories high, a conspicuous landmark; the latter a substantial stone structure. Between these and the Government House were a number of private residences; and below the Cape on the river shore, were four stone warehouses and a wharf of the same material. The native village of King Freeman still occupied its old position on the brow of the Cape, inland. Standing here, overlooking the scene of Popo's rescue, the eye followed the Maryland avenue extending towards the interior, some five miles, to Mount Tubman and its stockade fort. On either side of this were farm-lots of the colonists. The avenue, which was a well-bridged and graded road, kept cleared by constant travel, passed by the Baptist Mission and the Protestant Episcopal Mission stations, the public farm and jail. In the village of Latrobe, at the seaward end of the avenue, were St. Mark's Episcopal church, with its adjoining brick school-house, the Methodist church, the Mission house, and a fine two-story stone school-house, together with the site of the Congregational Mission, so pleasantly de-

scribed by Mrs. Wilson in the letter already quoted. The houses in the village were comfortable dwellings, with gardens in front. Beyond the village was Sheppard lake, of which a glimpse was had with a background of heavy tropical forest, from the luxuriant verdure of which the eye wandered to the ocean, with its waves breaking upon the narrow beach that separated it from the lake. From King Freeman's town, in another direction, Hoffman river was seen, with the receptacle for new emigrants and the public farm upon its banks. Add to this the comfortable dwellings of the colonists scattered here and there throughout the settlement, and lovely as the spot was described to be in its earlier aspect, it had lost none of its beauty when civilization had set its mark upon it.

The original territory had been greatly enlarged, and at the date of independence reached from the river Sesters, on the windward, to the river San Pedro, on the leeward coast, and extended, after annexation, the leeward boundary of Liberia to the last-named river.

With regard, now, to the value to Baltimore commercially of the operations of the Maryland State Colonization Society, directly and indirectly, during the thirty years of its active existence, as well after as before the colony became independent.

During this time, shipments from Baltimore required for the use of the colony or for the trade connected with it, amounted to upwards of one million dollars; to which are to be added shipments for the American Colonization Society equal to half a million more; a business that ceased altogether when it was no longer done in Baltimore, but went to New York and Norfolk, which had controlled it prior to 1834. At the same time, there were built in Baltimore, for and under the auspices of the State Society, eight vessels costing $113,000, and bought for it vessels costing $22,000, in all $135,000; and in addition to this eighteen vessels were chartered. After 1852, nearly double that number were chartered and sailed from Baltimore on account of the American Colonization Society. Estimating the charter parties at only $3,000 each for the above eighteen, and $54,000 is to be added to the cost of the vessels built and bought by the State Society; in a word, taking into consideration the money spent for labor, materials and merchandise in Baltimore after the passage of the Act of 1831, the amount cannot have been less than two million dollars, all on account of, or in connection with the State Society. To this should be added sailing expenses of the Mary Caroline Stevens[1] for six years at $1,000 per

[1] The figures in the above statement were furnished by Dr. Hall, and are taken from the books of the State Society.

month, $72,000, and of the Liberia Packet, six years at $700 per month, say $50,000, in all, $122,000, without calculating interest on the cost of the vessels,—all distributed in Baltimore. Taking all this into consideration, the importance of the State Society in a commercial point of view was not to be disregarded.[1]

After the absorption of the "State of Maryland in Liberia" into Liberia proper, its memory faded until the scant notice in the history of our State, already referred to, seems to have been regarded as all sufficient in this connection. Vessels came and went by Cape Palmas, and availed themselves of the light-house built there by the colonists, in utter ignorance of the circumstances attending its existence. In the meanwhile, however, a change in the public mind in regard to Africa had arisen. The necessity for new markets for the ever accumulating over production of manufacturing civilization had drawn the attention of both Europe

[1] The vessels built, and their cost, are as follows: Ship Mary Caroline Stevens, $46,000; Barque Liberia Packet, $20,000; Barque Shirly, $12,000; Brig Palmas, $12,000; Schooners President Benson, George R. McGill, Moses Sheppard, $6,000 each; James Hall, $5,000. Vessels bought: Morgan Dix, $6,000; Ralph Cross, $8,000. The vessels chartered were: 1831, the Orion; 1832, Lafayette; 1833, Ann; 1834, Sarah and Priscilla, Bourne; 1835, Harmony, Fortune; 1836, Financier, Niobe; 1837, Baltimore, Niobe, second voyage; 1838, Columbia, Oberon; 1839, Boxer; 1840, Chipola; 1842, Globe; 1843, Latrobe; 1845, Kent.

and America to the comparatively virgin field, in this respect, that Africa might afford; and when the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley had thrown light upon it, the European nations, almost without exception, under the lead of the King of the Belgians, at once sought to make it available. The result was the formation of the International Association, that has since, with the coöperation of the late Berlin conference, provided for the establishment and maintenance of the Free State of the Congo. The preliminary proceeding here, was to repeat what the Maryland State Colonization had shown to be practicable—treaties with the native kings—who, on both banks of the Congo, respectively, transferred by treaty to the new State, rights and privileges similar to those that King Freeman and his head men gave to the State Society in February, 1834; and the experience of both the old and the new settlements in Liberia has been again and again referred to, as obviating the necessity of resorting to the old writers on international law to justify the steps taken or about to be taken, to introduce colonization and its attendant blessings into the innermost recesses of the Dark Continent. On one occasion, when the question of the recognition by treaty of the flag of the Free State by the United States was before the Senate, an opportunity was afforded, at the residence of the Honorable Henry S. Sanford, acting

for the International Association, to tell the story of the settlement at Cape Palmas—to exhume, as it were, an incident which none present had ever heard of. On this occasion it was evident that an interest was excited which it is not unreasonable to suppose may have affected the senators and representatives who were present in connection with their subsequent action upon the subject. At any rate, it was pleasant to find that, after thirty-odd years of forgetfulness, what Maryland had done was both appreciated and admired; and it was this which has, perhaps, quickened the long deferred intention of preserving, while it might still be done, the memory of a good work of the State of Maryland.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT

FROM THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY, HELD JANUARY 19, 1828, IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

At 7 o'clock, the chair was taken by the Hon. Henry Clay, one of the vice-presidents of the Society. Fifteen auxiliary Societies were represented, the delegates from the State Society of Maryland being Charles C. Harper and John H. B. Latrobe.

Among other proceedings, the following resolution was offered by Mr. Latrobe:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be directed to ascertain in the course of the coming year, if possible, the practicability of obtaining territory for colonial settlements at Cape Palmas, and the Island of Bulama, on the south-west coast of Africa."

In support of this resolution, Mr. Latrobe said: "An inspection of the map of Africa will satisfy you, Mr. Chairman, of the importance of these two points with reference to the future operations of the Society: and their commercial advantages being great, an early attempt to secure them may perhaps prevent their falling into other hands and enable the Society to use them when the time shall have arrived at which they may be used with advantage. . . . . .

"Cape Palmas is at that part of Africa where the coast, after pursuing a course due east and west from the Bight of Biafra, trends in nearly a north-west direction, and passing by Liberia, continues in an almost uninterrupted line to Cape Roxo. The

Island of Bulama, in the mouth of the Rio Grande, is near the other extremity of the south-west coast, within a short run from the Cape de Verdes, and one of the points of the coast most easily made by vessels from this country.

"By possessing Cape Palmas, we would hold the commercial key of the south coast of Africa, and the countries immediately in the interior, down as far east as the Bight of Biafra; and a colony there would, in a few years, become a great depot for all the articles of foreign produce and manufactures which would be required by inhabitants of the nations eastward of the settlement. This will be the effect of a physical cause, which is certain and unchanging in its operations. The trade winds, pursuing the general outline of the African coast, render a return northward from the eastward of Cape Palmas, along the coast, extremely difficult at all seasons of the year, and more particularly so in the rainy season, when the difficulty of taking observations, and the numerous and varying currents prevent vessels from knowing their exact situation, and expose them to constant danger of shipwreck. From Cape Palmas, or any point to the northward of it, it is comparatively easy to return to the Cape de Verdes, and so home at all times; but Cape Palmas once passed, the danger and difficulty commence, and disastrous shipwreck or a shattered vessel is too often the consequence of a return voyage from a point beyond it. Were a settlement made at Cape Palmas it would, like Monrovia, soon become the resort of the surrounding nations, and merchants would prefer leaving their goods at such a market, to running the risks of proceeding further eastward, even with the hopes of enhanced profits. Paths would first be made, highways would follow, until the uncivilized nations of the Ivory coast and Gold coast, passing by the feeble settlements of Cape Coast and Elmina, would resort to meet civilization at the nearest point of safe approach—the Americo-African city at Cape Palmas. A great and prosperous trade would be the consequence; and the facilities of gain would soon fill the new settlement with

industrious inhabitants. Beside the commercial advantages of Cape Palmas, its road and anchorage are said to be the best between Montserrado (Mesurada) and the Volta; and the surrounding country is rolling and fertile, intersected with numerous small streams fit for the motion of mills. Being the southern extremity of the south-west coast, it will form also a natural boundary to that empire which, we all hope, will one day arise in Africa."[1]

AFRICAN DEEDS,

TO THE

MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Deed No. 1.

FROM KING FREEMAN AND KING WILL, OF CAPE PALMAS.

Executed the 14*th February*, 1834.

Know all men by these presents, that for considerations hereinafter mentioned, we, King Freeman, alias Parmah, of Cape Palmas, king Will, alias Weah Boleo, of Grahway, and King Joe Holland, alias Baphro, of Grand Cavally, have granted and sold, and do by these presents, grant and sell to the Maryland State Colonization Society, of Maryland, in the United States of North America, the following tract of land of which we are law-

[1] It is amusing in these days to see the calmness with which the south-west coast of Africa was thus appropriated; especially in the light of what the civilized world is now doing to obtain foothold everywhere or anywhere on the continent, coast or inland. But the fact is, that 57 years ago, so little attention was paid to Africa, so little was known about it, that it was a fair field for all sorts of speculations. Those of the speech of the Maryland delegate had this value practically; that they caused, as detailed, the intelligent examination which led to the establishment of Maryland in Liberia—which affords the only excuse for their mention here.

fully seized at this time by right of possession and descent, viz.: Commencing on the sea beach, about three miles to the north-west of Cape Palmas, at a cocoa-nut tree, known as the large cocoa-nut, separating this territory from that of the king of Rock Town, thence running in about an east north-east direction, one day's journey, until it shall reach the territory of Kava, king of the interior; from thence running east south-east, six hours walk, until it shall reach the town of King Tom on the Cavally river; from thence down the Cavally river to its mouth; then running along the beach, passing the town of Cavally; Grahway and Cape Palmas to the point at starting, viz.: the large cocoa-nut tree; including all the rivers, bays, creeks, anchorages, timber and mines, on the same, excepting as follows: A tract of land deeded, and given sometime since, by the above named King Will, alias Weah Boleo, of Grahway, to King Yellow Will, of little Cavally. Also excepting so much of the said territory as is now under cultivation by the inhabitants thereof, or such places as are occupied by us or our dependents, as towns and villages; reserving also the right of passing and repassing up and down all rivers and creeks, and of traversing all sections of the country not inhabited by the colonists of the said Society; the said Society to have, and to hold the same for its own special benefit, and behoof forever; and we do agree to warrant and defend the same against the claims of all persons whatever; and it, the said Society shall have power by its factors or agents to exercise all authority in the above named territory, reserving to ourselves and our descendants the right of governing and setting all palavers among our own people so long as we shall see fit to occupy any part of said territory. And we do hereby acknowledge ourselves as members of the Colony of Maryland in Liberia, so far as to unite in common defence in case of war or foreign aggresssion.

We do also acknowledge the receipt of the following articles of Merchandise of James Hall, Esquire, agent of the said Society and governor of said territory, as a full and ample compensation therefor, viz.: 4 Cases of Muskets, 20 kegs Powder, 110

pieces of Cloth, 10 Neptunes, 10 Brass Kettles, 20 Hats, 100 Cutlasses, 200 lbs. Beads, 1,500 lbs. Iron Pots, 6 doz. looking Glasses, 4 framed ditto, 24 Iron bars, 100 trade knives, 100 wash basins, 3 Hogsheads tobacco, 10 Boxes pipes, 2 kegs flints, 6 Dozen Locks, 24 Decanters, 50 Tumblers, 50 Wine Glasses, 24 stone Jugs, 10 Demijohns, 3 suits of Clothes, 3 cocked hats, 25 Razors in Cases, 50 Pitchers, 50 mugs, 50 Bowls, 3 pr. Brass barrelled Pistols, 1,000 Fish Hooks, 50 pr. Scissors, 50 Spanish Dollars. And I, the said Hall, do, in the name of the said Society, guaranty to the said kings and their dependents the above reserved rights, and further, that neither themselves nor property shall be trespassed upon or molested in any manner whatever, and no lands under cultivation, or towns or villages shall be taken from them, except by special contract; paying the desired remuneration therefor. And I do further agree, for and in the name of the said society; that free schools shall be established for the benefit of the children in each of the following towns, in one year from the date hereof, viz.: One at Cape Palmas, one at Garroway, and one at Grand Cavally.

This instrument, with a duplicate thereof, is executed at Cape Palmas, this fourteenth day of February, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty-four.

KING FREEMAN, *alias* PARMAH,
Of Cape Palmas.
KING JOE HOLLAND, *alias* BAPHRO,
Of Grand Cavally.
KING WILL, *alias* WEAH BOLIO,
King of Grahaway.
JAMES HALL, *Agent,*
Maryland State Colonization Society.

Signed, sealed, and one copy delivered to King Freeman, and one to James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, in presence of JAS. M. THOMPSON and GEO. R. MCGILL.

SUPPLEMENT AFFIXED TO THE ABOVE DEED OF TERRITORY FROM THE KINGS OF CAPE PALMAS, GRAHWAY AND GRAND CAVALLY.

We, whose names are hereunto affixed, head men of Cape Palmas, Grahway, and Cavally, ratify and confirm the foregoing contract made by our ——— with James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, this thirteenth day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-four.

U–AH–YOH, *Governor of Cape Palmas.*
JUMBO, *Soldier King.*
GEOH, *Gent. and headman.*
KIBROH, *Governor of Grahway big town.*
GELAH, *King's mate and Governor of Half Cavally.*
SEEK, *Pioneer of the Expedition.*
BALLY, *King's mouth or interpreter.*
NEAH, *Palaver-house man.*
OORAB, " "
DEWEY, " "

Attest:
JAMES M. THOMPSON.
GEORGE R. MCGILL.

CONFIRMATION BY THE HEADMEN OF GRAND CAVALLY.

Grand Cavally, West Africa, May 20, 1834.

We, the undersigned headmen of Grand Cavally, do, by these presents, notify and confirm the contract made by our king, Joe Holland, *alias* Baphro, in ——— with Will, *alias* Boleo, king of Grahway, and Freeman, *alias* Pah Neemah, king of Cape Palmas, on one part, and James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, on the other part, deeding and conveying all the territory now possessed or holden by us, to the said Society, reserving so much thereof as is now under cultivation, or is occupied by us as towns and villages, agreeable to the deed

executed by the above-named kings at Cape Palmas, on the thirteenth day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-four.

BARVOW, *Governor of Cavally.*
TWEADAH, *Governor Note.*
TWEABEY, *King's Adjutant.*
KOLEH, *Soldier King.*
NEAHBEY, *Head trade man for River Cavally.*
JULEH, *King's Mouth.*

Attest:

ANTHONY WOOD.

Deed No. 2.

FROM KING BARRAH KEABY, OF BULYEMAH.

Executed the 21st October, 1835.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Barrah Keaby, the true and lawful king of the country, called Bulyemah, and of the Leabreh people inhabiting said Country, do, by these presents, grant, deed and convey unto James Hall, as Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him, to said Society, the territory now under my authority, called Bulyemah, and bounded as follows, viz.: beginning at a large rock on the beach, about six miles East of the mouth of the river Cavally, the same being the natural bounding line between Robookah and Labou; thence running in a northerly direction (point of compass not known), one and a half days journey, or about fifty miles to the country, called Labou, governed by King Yootoo, thence running in a westerly direction to the Cavally river, at the mouth of Bohraum creek, the natural boundary line between the Nigahpoh Yeabreh people, thence down the Cavally river, including both sides on the west side to a town belonging to the Half Cavally, or Boureh people called Deamah on the east side, extending to the river mouth, thence along the

sea beach, about six miles to the rock at point of starting, to have and to hold the same, in common with my own people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, village or farm, or Devil plot, with all privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging forever. And it is further agreed by the said parties that the inhabitants of the above-named country and the king thereof, and the American citizens of Maryland in Liberia shall unite their forces in defence of their common country, and of the territory already belonging to the Maryland Colonization Society in Africa, to which this is now annexed. And it is further agreed that all palaver occurring between any two kings residing in Maryland in Liberia, or between the subjects of any two kings, shall be set by the American governor of the territory. And it is further agreed on part of the said King Keaby, that no foreigner or person not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society, shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory, other than that made with canoes without the bar of the river Cavally. And further, that there shall never be in either party any obstruction to the free passage up and down, and navigation of the Cavally river with any craft whatsoever. The considerations of the above deed are as follows, viz.: *First*, The above named privileges of mutual defence; *Secondly*, The advantages accruing from trading parts being established in the same territory, by and thro' the agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society; *Thirdly*, The advantages of the schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with the American children; *Fourthly*, The general benefit which the said Keaby, executor hereof, foresees will result to his country, and the inhabitants thereof from intercourse with the American people; *Fifthly*, Such presents or dashes as he may hope to receive from the colonial agent for so munificent a donation.

Signed: JAMES HALL, *Agt. Md. St. Col. Soc.*
KEABY KING, SEAL.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Robookah, this sixteenth day of October, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-five, in presence of NATHAN LEE and BAPHRO KING.

CONFIRMATION BY THE HEADMEN OF ROBOOKAH OF THE FOREGOING DEED.

Robookah, October 10, 1835.

We, Crah, Jeammah, Keikeh, Evey, Jimbly, Headmen for Robookah, do hereby, in presence of the king and each other, ratify and confirm the foregoing contract of King Barrah Keaby with James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and bind ourselves and adherents to observe the same.

Signed: CRAH, JEAMMAH, KERKEH,
EREH, JIMBLY.
BEN KROKO, *Headman and King's son.*
KAJEH, *Brother for river king.*
BLAGNES, *Headman for small town.*
KRABEH.

Attest:
NATHAN LEE.

CONFIRMATION BY THE KING AND HEADMEN OF PLORAH, &c., TO THE FOREGOING DEED.

Plorah, October 21*st*, 1835.

I, Tourah, liege king to Barrah Keaby, over the country called Bulyemah, and resident of Plorah, and we, whose names are hereunto affixed, headmen of said country, do hereby, of our own free will and accord, ratify and confirm the foregoing contract made between the said Barrah Keaby on the one part, and James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, on the other part, and do bind ourselves, our dependents and successors

to observe the same. In witness whereof, we do hereunto set our hands and affix our seals.

Signed: KING TOUREH,
QUEDO WEAH, *Grand devil king.*
MANIE, *King Toureh's mate.*
HOTOO, *Soldier King of Ploorah.*
LEJAMMAH, *Headman of Neatoh.*
NO PLOH, *Gentleman of Plorah and Orator.*
TOJEH, *Headman of Bohoor.*
WARRAH, *Headman of Letoo.*
CRGH, *Headman of Denah.*
NEAMMAH, *Headman of the Wehnaweh.*
SEAH, *Second to Lejammeh.*

Attest:
NATHAN LEE,
LEAMMAH,
NEH.

CONFIRMATION BY THE KING AND HEADMEN OF HAIDEE TO THE FOREGOING.

Haidee, October 23rd, 1835.

I, king Gun-o-weh, Liege king to Barrah Keaby, of the Bulyemah country, and we whose names are hereunto affixed, headmen of said country, do hereby of our own free will and accord, ratify and confirm the foregoing contract made between the said Barrah Keaby and James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and do bind ourselves, our dependents and successors to observe the same.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals,

Signed: KING GUN-O-WEH.
JUO-EY, *King's mate.*
JAMMAH, *Governor of Haidee.*

KEABEAH, *Half Governor.*
PANAGEE-QUEEAH, *second to Keabeah.*
DADGA, *Orator.*
EDAH, *Soldier King.*

Attest:
NATHAN LEE.

Deed No. 3.

FROM KING NEAH WEAH, OF BOWREH.

Executed the 25th November, 1835.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Neah Weah, King of Boureh and Half Cavally, and we whose names are hereunto affixed, headmen of said Boureh, do hereby grant, deed and convey unto James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and by and through him to said Society, the territory now under our jurisdiction called Boureh, and bounded as follows, viz.: Beginning at a point on the sand beach, about one mile west of Cavally Point, the same being the boundary line between Cavally and Grahway, thence running in a northeasterly direction to the Cavally River, thence on the west side of the Cavally River to the territory occupied by Cragh, headman of Watta, thence in a line running nearly south-west to the sea beach, about four miles west of the mouth of the Cavally river, thence west along the sea beach, about four miles to the point of starting, including the whole territory possessed by the Bowreh people east of Cape Palmas, excepting so much thereof as is at present occupied as town, farm lots or burying ground. And it is hereby agreed by said parties that the same shall be and is hereby annexed to, and becomes a part of the territory now belonging to the Maryland State Colonization Society, and the inhabitants of the same shall unite with the American colonists in defence of this, their common country. And it is further agreed that all palavers arising between the

above named king of Bowreh, or any of his subjects, and any other king or the subjects of another king belonging to the territory of Maryland in Liberia, shall be set by the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, or American Governor of the Colony. And it is further agreed that all inhabitants of Liberia, Americans or natives, of what tribe soever, shall have the free right of passing and repassing from one part of said territory to the other without injury or molestation. And it is further agreed that no foreigner shall be permitted to reside in or make trade in any part of the territory now ceded to the Maryland State Colonization Society (always excepting the canoe trade with foreign vessels), without a special permit from the American Governor.

The considerations for the above deed are as follows:

First. The above-named privileges for mutual defence.

Secondly. The advantages arising from having free access to all trading parts which shall be established in Maryland in Liberia.

Thirdly. The advantages of schools, which the children of native parents shall enjoy in common with the American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which will result to the native inhabitants from free intercourse with the American colonists.

Fifth. Such presents as the colonial agent may see fit to make for so valuable an acquisition of territory.

JAMES HALL, *A. M. S. C. S.*, SEAL.

KING NEH, or WEAH, his × mark. SEAL.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Half Cavally, this twenty-fifth day of November, 1835, in presence of NEH, his × mark.

EDDA HAMEH, *alias* JIM WILSON, *King's Mate.*
NORVOO, *Headman of Half Cavally.*
CRAHBES, *Head Gentleman of Half Cavally.*
EDDAH QUAN, *Headman of Neatoh.*
QUAIN, *Head Smith.*

DOBBO, *Governor of Eubbo.*
WAH, *Soldier King.*
CAIREH, TOBBO, NEH, BLUBB, GEO, HOVRO.
CROGH, NEAHMAH, BOB QUEAB, CRAB, LEAH.
LAH-NA-TOO, NAIMBOO, JABBOO.
HILLY-BOO-WEH, MUSS NEANKO, or JIM LIVERPOOL, *Hedd Trademen.*
DABWEH.

CONFIRMATION BY THE HEADMEN OF GRAND CAVALLY.

Grand Cavally, West Africa, May 20, 1834.

We, the undersigned Headmen of Grand Cavally, do, by these presents, ratify and confirm the contract made by our king, Joe Holland, *alias* Baphro, in conjunction with Will, *alias* Bolio, king of Grahway, and Freeman, *alias* Pah Neahmah, king of Cape Palmas, on the one part, and James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society on the other part, deeding and conveying all the territory now possessed or holden by us to the said Society, reserving so much thereof as is now under cultivation, or is occupied by us as towns and villages, agreeable to the deed executed by the above-named kings at Cape Palmas, on the thirteenth day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-four.

BARWON, *Governor of Cavally.*
TWEADAH, *Governor Mate.*
TWAABEY, *King's Adjutant.*
KALAH, *Soldier King.*
NE-AH-BEY, *Head trademan for River Cavally.*
JULEH, *King's Mouth.*

Attest:
ANTHONY WOOD.

SUPPLEMENT AFFIXED TO THE DEED OF TERRITORY FROM THE KINGS OF CAPE PALMAS, GRAHWAY, AND GRAND CAVALLY.

We, whose names are hereunto affixed, headmen of Cape Palmas, Grahway and Grand Cavally, do ratify and confirm the foregoing contract made by our sovereigns with James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, this thirteenth day of February, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-four.

U–AH–TOH, *Governor of Cape Palmas.*
JUMBO, *Soldier King.*
SEAH, *Gent. Headman.*
KIBEOH, *Governor of Grahway big town.*
GALAH, *king's mate and Governor of Half Grahway.*
SEEH, *Pioneer of the Expedition.*
BALLY, *King's mouth or Interpreter.*
NEH, *Palaver house man.*
ORAH, " "
DEWEY, " "

Attest:
JAMES M. THOMPSON,
GEO. R. MCGILL.

Deed No. 4.

FROM KING GRA-KAW OF NEGAPOS.

Executed the 26th December, 1835.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Gra-kaw, one of the kings of Negahpos people (but totally free and independent from all the kings of the said Negahpos,) and we, whose names are hereunto affixed, Headmen and Governors of these several towns belonging to the said Gra-kaw, do hereby deed and convey unto

James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society of Maryland, in the United States of America, all the territory now within our jurisdiction, and bounded as follows: South and south-west by the territory of the Maryland State Colonization Society; west by the territory of the Gra-kaw, or King Hevas' people; north by King Wah, or Treaboah people; east by the territory of King Neh, of Denah, and of King Nehero. To have and to hold the same, together with all the privileges and appurtenances thereof, for all the purposes of agriculture, making roads, erecting dwellings, &c., in common with my own people, the present occupants, always reserving the part now occupied and tenanted by us as towns, villages, or grain fields. And it is hereby agreed by the said parties, that the same is hereby annexed to and becomes a part of Maryland in Liberia, and the inhabitants thereof shall all unite in defence of this their common territory. They shall also be equally entitled to the privileges of passing and repassing to and from any trading parts established in said territory of Maryland in Liberia. The children of native inhabitants shall also, in common with those of American parents, enjoy the privileges of attending any schools established in the territory. The considerations for the above deed of gift are the advantages which will accrue to the country from this arrangement, and such presents and dashes as the said James Hall shall see fit to make for so valuable a donation.

The foregoing deed, with a duplicate thereof, signed, sealed and delivered at Bluroh, this twenty-sixth day of December, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-five.

GRA-KAW, *King.* SEAL.

JAMES HALL, *Am. St. C. S.* SEAL.

TAI, *Gov. of Borroh.*

WRAH, *Gov. of Louree.*

COOTE, *Gov. of Juedo.*

BUNOH, *Gov. of Noa.*

SOULEAH, *Gov. of Bueh.*
BLLYEMAH, *Gov. of Nasseh.*
OOREEH, *Gov. of Batteh.*
NEAMAH, *Gov. of Tuo.*
CAPREH, *Gov. of No.*

Witnessed by:
NEH, *Ageucy's Krooman.*
WARROH, *King Fruwausbay.*

Deed No. 5.

FROM KING NEH OF DENAH.

Executed the 10*th February,* 1836.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Neh, king of a part of the Negapo people, dwelling on the Cavally river (including Denah), and we, whose names are hereunto affixed, headmen of said territory, do hereby grant, deed and convey unto James Hall, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, of Maryland, in the United States of America, and by and through him to said Society, all that tract of territory now under our jurisdiction together with all and every privilege and appurtenances thereunto belonging, said territory is bounded as follows: South, by the territory occupied by another part of the Negapo people under Yeabreh, headman of Nopatea, east, by the Labou people, about thirty miles distant, north, by the Kings Enerno and ———, another section of the Negapos, at a distance from Denah of ten miles north-west by a section of country under the Negapos people under King War, about fifteen miles distant south-west and west by the territory of the Maryland State Colonization Society purchased by one part of the Negapos tribe under King Gra-kaw, containing in all, about 400 square miles. To have and to hold the same as a part of and adjoining the Maryland State Colonization Society's land, viz.: Maryland in Liberia.

And it is hereby agreed by the said parties that all of the inhabitants thereof shall unite with the inhabitants of Maryland in Liberia for their mutual security and defence. That all palavers arising between any king of the above-named territory, and another king belonging to Maryland in Liberia, or between any of his subjects, and the subjects of any other king belonging to said State shall be subject to the decision of the Home Agent of said Society, or the Governor of the American Colony. Also, that all the inhabitants of Maryland in Liberia, either natives or Americans, shall have the free right and privilege of passing and repassing through any part of said Maryland in Liberia, and have free access to all trading parts established in said territory. Also, that the native inhabitants of the country so ceded shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of schooling in common with the American colonists. The considerations for the above grant are the advantages that will result to the country from the schools, trading ports, mutual protection, and the many great benefits that will accrue from free intercourse with civilized people. Also, such satisfactory presents as we at this time acknowledge to have received from the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Signed, sealed and delivered, with a duplicate hereof, at Harper, this 10th February, 1836.

RHEA $\overset{\text{his}}{\underset{\text{mark}}{\times}}$ NEH, *King of Denah.*
JAMES HALL, *Agent Md. St. Col. Soc.*
WAA-MEH, × *Town Orator.*
MAYOU, × *Headman of Denah.*
CRAHBLEH, × *Governor of Yeabreh.*
TOOMOO, × " *of Noah.*
QUO-QUO, × " *of Denah.*

In presence of:
OLIVER HOLMES, JR., and
JAMES M. THOMPSON.

Deed No. 6, of Rock Town.

FROM KING VEAH.

Executed April 21st, 1837.

Know all men by these presents, that I, Gray, the true and lawful king of Rock Town, and Frah, Governor of said country (sometimes called Cape Palmas), do, by these presents, grant, deed and convey unto Jno. B. Russwurm, as Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him to the said Society, the territory now under our authority called Rock Town (alias Tah), and bounded as follows, viz.: Beginning at the Cocoa-nut tree near the beach, the northern boundary of the American settlement at Cape Palmas, thence running parallel with the seaboard, about six miles, more or less in a northern direction to a point called Bleableah-Tawah, which divides it from Fish Town. Thence running in a north-east direction (point of compass not known), half a day's journey, or about sixteen miles to the country called Saurogah, governed by King Warrah, and thence in a south-east direction to the intervening line between this territory and the American settlement mentioned above, and from thence to the Cocoa-nut tree above mentioned in a south-west direction, to have and to hold the same in common with our people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, village or farm with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging forever.

And it is further agreed by said parties, that the inhabitants of the above named country, and the king and governor thereof, and the American citizens of Maryland in Liberia shall unite their forces in defence of their common country, and of the territory already belonging to the Maryland Colonization Society in Africa, to which this is now annexed. And it is further agreed that all palavers arising between any two kings residing in Maryland in Liberia between the subjects of any two kings shall be set by the American Governor of the territory.

And it is further agreed on the part of the said King Gray and Governor Traho, that no foreigner or person not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory, other than that made in canoes with vessels in offing.

And further, that there shall never be, in either party, any obstruction to a free passage through their respective territories, either by land or water.

The considerations for the above deed are as follows:

First. The above named privileges of mutual defence.

Second. The advantages from trading ports being established in said territory, and through the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Third. The advantages of schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which the said King Gray and Governor Frah, executors hereof, foresee will result to their country, and the inhabitants thereof, from intercourse with American colonists.

Fifth. Such presents or dashes as they may hope to receive from the colonial agent for deeding the above-named territory.

And further, it is understood by the contracting parties that nothing contained in this deed shall in any way interfere with any former deed or conveyance which may have been given to the Rev. J. L. Wilson, as Agent of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, for the purpose of establishing schools within said territory.

JNO. B. RUSSWURM, *A. Md. S. C. S.* ss.

GRAY, *King,* ss.

FRAH, *Governor,* ss.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Rock Town, this twenty-first day of April, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-seven.

In presence of:

G. R. McGILL,
SAMUEL EDEN,
JACK his × mark. WILSON.

Rock Town, April 21st, 1837.

We, Veah, Duah, Neemah, Jr., Trah and Neemah, Sr., headmen for Rock Town, do, hereby in the presence of the King, Governor and each other, ratify and confirm the foregoing contract of King Gray and Governor Frah with Jno. B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and bind ourselves to observe the same.

VEAH, his × mark.
DUAH, his × mark.
NEEMAH, JR., his × mark.
TUAH, his × mark.
NEEMAH, SR. his × mark.

Attest:

GEORGE R. McGILL,
SAMUEL EDEN,
TOM his × mark. PRINCE.

Deed No. 7, of Bassa.

FROM KING NIMLEE AND GOVERNOR OF BASSA COUNTRY.

Executed February 24th, A. D., 1846.

Know all men by these presents, that we, King Nimlee and Governor Yellow Will, the true and lawful King and Governor

of Bassa Country, do, by these presents, grant, deed and convey to Jno. B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him to said Society, the territory now under our jurisdiction called Bassa, and bounded as follows: Beginning at Bassa river and extending along the beach to ——, east, by the Atlantic ocean; west, by Labou and Taioh nation of Bushmen; north, by the Taioh's and other Bush tribes, and south, by the Atlantic ocean.

To have and to hold the same in common with our own people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, or farm with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging forever.

And it is further agreed by said parties that the inhabitants of the above-named country, the King and Governor thereof, and the American citizens of Maryland in Liberia shall unite their forces in defence of their common country and the territory already belonging to the Maryland State Colonization Society in Africa, to which this is now annexed.

And it is further agreed that all palavers arising between any two kings residents of Maryland in Liberia, or between the subjects of any two kings shall be set by the American Governor of the colony.

And it is further agreed on the part of the above King Nimlee and Governor Yellow Hill, that no foreigner not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society, or other persons shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory, other than that made in canoes with vessels in the offing.

And further, that there shall never be, in either party, any obstructions to a free passage through their respective territories, either by land or sea.

The considerations of the above deed are as follows:

First. The above-named privileges of mutual defence.

Second. The advantages accruing from trading posts being established in said territory, by and through the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Third. The advantages of schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which the said King Nimlee and Governor Yellow Hill, executors hereof, foresee will result to their country, and the people thereof, from intercourse with American colonists.

Fifth. Such dashes as they may hope to receive from the Colonial Agent for deeding said territory.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Bassa, King George's Town, this twenty-fourth day of February, A. D. 1846.

JNO. B. RUSSWURM, *A. Md. St. S.*
NIMLEE, *King,* ×
YELLOW WILL, *Gov.*

In presence of:
TRUMAN, *King,* ×
YELLOW WILL, ×
D. E. MCFARLAND,
JNO. BANKS.

We, Pouch, Barreh and Brah, Headmen of Bassa, do hereby, in the presence of the King and Governor and each other, ratify and confirm the foregoing contract with Jno. B. Russwurm, A. M. S. C. S., and bind ourselves and adherents to observe the same.

POUCH, ×
BARRAH, ×
BRAH, ×
JEUEH. ×

In presence of:
TRUMAN, *King.*
YELLOW WILL.

Deed No. 8, of Tahoe.

FROM KING GEORGE.

Executed February 24th, 1846.

I, King George, the true and lawful king of the country of Tahoe, do, by these presents, grant, deed, and convey unto John B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him to said Society, the territory now under my authority, called and bounded as follows, viz.: East by the Atlantic ocean and river Padro; west by Grand Berriby and Yappo nation of bushmen; north by the Europoh nation of bushmen; and south by the Atlantic ocean.

To have and to hold the same in common with our own people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, farm or village, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging forever.

And it is further agreed by the said parties that the inhabitants of the above-named country and the kings thereof, and American citizens of Maryland in Liberia, shall unite their forces in defence of their common country and of the territory already belonging to the Maryland Colonization Society in Africa, to which this is now annexed.

And it is further agreed that all palavers arising between any two kings residing in Maryland in Liberia, or between the subjects of any two kings, shall be set by the American Governor of the territory.

And it is further agreed on the part of the said King George that no foreigner or person not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory other than that made in canoes with vessels in the offing.

And further that there shall never be, in either party, any obstruction to a free passage through their respective territories either by land or water.

The considerations for the above deed are as follows:

First. The above-named privileges of mutual defence.

Second. The advantages accruing from trading posts being established in said territory by and through the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Third. The advantages of schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which the said King George, executor hereof, foresees will result to their country, and the inhabitants thereof, from intercourse with American colonists.

Fifth. Such presents or dashes as they may hope to receive from the Colonial Agent for ceding above territory.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Town of Bassa (King George's), this twenty-fourth day of February, A. D., 1846.

In presence of:
JNO. BANKS,
D. C. MCFARLAND.

Town of Bassa, February 24th, 1846.

We, Hugo, Seah and Gerah, headmen of Tahoe, do, hereby in the presence of our kings and each other, ratify and confirm the preceding contract with Jno. B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and bind ourselves and adherents to observe them.

HAGO SEAH,
GERAH.

In presence of:
TRUMAN, *King*,
YELLOW WILL.

Deed No. 8, of Grand Berriby.

FROM KING DARBO AND KING TOM.

Executed February 23d, 1846.

Know all men by these presents, that we, King Darbo and King Tom, the true and lawful Kings of Grand Berriby:

Do by these presents, grant, deed and convey unto Jno. B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him to said Society, the territory now under our authority and bounded as follows, viz: East, by the Atlantic ocean; west, by Half Berriby and Majo najo nation of Bushmen; north, by the Yappo nation of Bushmen, and south, by the Atlantic ocean.

To have and to hold the same in common with our own people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, village or farm with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging forever.

And it is further agreed by said parties that the inhabitants of the above country, and the King and Governor thereof, and American citizens of Maryland in Liberia shall unite their forces in defence of their common country, and of the territory already belonging to the Maryland Colonization Society in Africa, to which this is now annexed; and it is further agreed that all palavers arising between any two kings residing in Maryland in Liberia, or between the subjects of any two kings shall be set by the American Governor of the territory.

And it is further agreed on the part of the said King Darbo and King Tom:

That no foreigner or person not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory, other than that made in canoes with vessels in the offing.

And further, that there shall never be, in either party, any obstructions to a free passage through their respective territories, either by land or water.

The considerations for the above deed are as follows:

First. The above-named privileges of mutual defence.

Second. The advantages accruing from trading posts being established in said territory, by and through the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Third. The advantages of schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with the American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which the said King Darbo and King Tom, executors hereof, foresee will result to their country, and the inhabitants thereof from intercourse with American colonists.

Fifth. Such presents or dashes as they may hope to receive from the Colonial Agent for ceding above-named territory.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Bassa Town, King George's, this twenty-third February, A. D. 1846.

JNO. B. RUSSWURM,
Governor Md. Liberia.
DARBO KING, + 0
TOM KING, + 0

In presence of:
D. C. MCFARLAND,
JOHN BANKS,
TRUMAN KING, +

We, Neemah, Governor, and Crah, headmen of Grand Berriby, do, hereby in the presence of our kings and each other, ratify and confirm the preceding contract with J. B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and bind ourselves and adherents to observe them.

NEMAH, *Gov.* +
CRAH, *Headman*, +

In presence of:
TRUMAN KING, +
YELLOW WILL. +

Deed No. 9, of Berriby.

FROM OURIPPI AND HUGO, GOVERNOR.

Executed March 13th, 1846.

Know all men by these presents, that we, Ourippi, alias King William, and Hugo, Governor, the true and lawful King and Governor of Half Berriby:

Do, by these presents, grant, deed, and convey unto John B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him to said Society, the territory now under our authority, called and bounded as follows, viz.: East by the Atlantic ocean; west by the Mago and Ourappo nations of bushmen; north by the Hennah nation bushmen, and south by the Atlantic ocean.

To have and to hold the same in common with our own people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, village, farm, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, forever.

And it is further agreed by said parties that the inhabitants of the above country, and the King and Governor thereof, and the American citizens of Maryland in Liberia, shall unite their forces in defence of their common country and of the territory already belonging to the Maryland State Colonization Society in Africa: to which this is now annexed.

And it is further agreed that all palavers arising between any two kings residing in Maryland in Liberia, or between the subjects of any two kings, shall be set by the American Governor of the territory.

And it is further agreed on the part of the said King and Governor, that no foreigner or person not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society, shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory, other than that made in canoes with vessels in the offing.

And further, that there shall never be, in either party, any obstruction to a free passage through their respective territories, either by land or water.

The considerations of the above deed are as follows:

First. The above-named privileges of mutual defence.

Second. The advantages accruing from trading posts being established in said territory by and through the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Third. The advantages of schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which the said King and Governor, executors hereof, foresee will result to their country and the inhabitants thereof, from intercourse with American colonists.

Fifth. Such presents or dashes as they may hope to receive from the Colonial Agent for ceding the above-named territory.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Cape Palmas, this 13th of March, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six.

JNO. B. RUSSWURM.
A. Md. S. C. S.
WILLIAM, *King*, +
HUGO, *Governor.* +

In presence of:
TRUMAN, *King*, +
YELLOW WILL, +
W. A. PROUT.

Cape Palmas, March 13th, 1846.

We, Neah and Nepah, Headmen of Half Berriby, do hereby, in the presence of our King and Governor and each, ratify and confirm the preceding contract with John B. Russwurm, A. Md. S. Col. Society, and bind ourselves and adherents to observe them.

NEAH, *Headman*, +
NEPAH, " +

In presence of:
TRUMAN, *King*, +
YELLOW WILL. +

Deed No. 10, of Tabou.

FROM KING GEORGE, OF BASSA; KING GEORGE MACAULEY, OF G. TABOU, AND KING CRAH, OF TABOU RIVER.

Executed March 13th, 1846.

Know all men by these presents: that we, King George, of Bassa; King George Macauley, of G. Tabou, and King Crah, of Tabou River, the true and lawful kings of the country of Tabou:

Do, by these presents, grant, deed and convey unto John B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, and through and by him to said Society, the territory now under our authority, called and bounded as follows, viz.: East by Bassa country and the Atlantic ocean; west by Barbo country and Taps nation; north by Tarah nation and Bushman, and south by the Atlantic ocean.

To have and to hold the same in common with our own people, and to occupy any part thereof not now in actual use as a town, village, farm, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging, forever.

And it is further agreed by said parties that the inhabitants of the above country and the kings and headmen thereof, and the American citizens of Maryland in Liberia, shall unite their forces in defence of their common country and of the territory already belonging to the Maryland State Colonization Society in Africa, to which this is now annexed.

And it is further agreed that all palavers arising between any two kings residing in Maryland in Liberia, or between the subjects of any two kings, shall be set by the American Governor of the territory.

And it is further agreed on the part of the said Kings George, G. Macauley and Crah, that no foreigner, or person not authorized by the Maryland State Colonization Society, shall reside in or make trade in any part of said territory, other than that made in canoes with vessels in the offing.

And further, that there shall never be, in either party, any obstruction to a free passage through their respective territories, either by land or water.

The considerations of the above deed are as follows:

First. The above-named privileges of mutual defence.

Second. The advantages accruing from trading posts being established in said territory, by and through the Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society.

Third. The advantages of schools, which the children of the native inhabitants shall enjoy in common with American children.

Fourth. The general benefit which the said Kings George, G. Macauley and Crah, executors hereof, foresee will result to their country and the inhabitants thereof, from intercourse with American colonists.

Fifth. Such presents or dashes as they may hope to receive from the Colonial Agent for ceding the above-named territory.

Signed, sealed and delivered at Cape Palmas, this 13th of March, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-six.

JNO. B. RUSSWURM, *Agt. Md. S. C. So.*
GEORGE, *King,* ×
GEORGE MACAULEY, *King,* ×
CRAH, *King,* ×

In presence of:
KING TRUMAN,
YELLOW WILL,
D. C. MCFARLAN,
JNO. BANKS.

Town of Bassa, King George's, February 23d, 1846.

We, Weah, Governor, Nemah and Yakuh, headmen of Tabou River, Grand Tabou and Bassa, do hereby, in the presence of our kings and each other, ratify and confirm the preceding contract

with J. B. Russwurm, Agt. Md. St. C. Society, and bind ourselves and adherents to observe them.

WEAH, *Governor T. River*,
NEMAH, " *Tabou*,
YAKUH, " *Bassa*.

Attest:
TRUEMAN, *King*, ×
YELLOW WILL. ×

Deed No. 11, of Garraway.

FROM BLACK WILL, ANDREW LAWSON, DOBBAH, HALF GARRAWAY, WHEREBOH AND YOIRRAH, KINGS AND HEADMEN OF THE GARRAWAY COUNTRY.

Know all men by these presents: that, for the consideration hereafter mentioned, we, Black Will, Andrew Lawson, Dobbah, half Garraway, Whereboh and Yoirrah, Kings and headmen of the Garraway country, have granted and sold, and by these presents do grant and sell to the Maryland State Colonization Society of Maryland, in the United States of North America, the following tract of land, of which we are at this time lawfully seized by right of possession and descent. Beginning at a point north, at Poor river on the beach, from thence running into the interior eastwardly on the south side of said Poor river to the Trimbah country to a point; thence running in a line separating the Trimbah country, Tabareah, Boloboh and Urabah territory south to Fish Town river to a point; thence running along said river in a line west to the beach to a point; thence running in a line north-westwardly on the sea beach to the point of starting.

Including all the rivers, bays, creeks, timbers and mines on the same, excepting so much of said territory as is now under cultivation by the inhabitants thereof, or such places as may be occupied by us or our descendants as towns or villages, reserving also the right of passing up and down all rivers and creeks, and of

traversing all sections of country not inhabited by colonists, the said Society to have and to hold the said territory for its special benefit and behoof. And we do agree to warrant and defend the same against the claim of all persons whatever. And it shall have power by its Agent to exercise all authority in the above-named territory, and we hereby acknowledge ourselves members of the Colony of Maryland in Liberia so far as to unite in its common defence in case of war or foreign aggression.

And I, the said John B. Russwurm, in the name of said Society, do hereby guarantee to the said kings and their descendants the above reserved rights; and further, that neither themselves or property shall be trespassed upon, or molested in any way whatever, and no lands under cultivation nor towns nor villages shall be taken from them except by special contract, paying the desired remuneration therefor.

We also acknowledge the receipt of the following articles of merchandise from John B. Russwurm, Agent of the said Society and Governor of said territory, as full and ample compensation therefor:

One Hhd. Tobacco.	Twenty ps. Cloth.
One Box Cutlasses.	Twenty Muskets.
One Keg Flints.	Ten large Kegs Powder.
Two Boxes Pipes.	Ten Black Hats.
	Fifty Iron Bars.

This instrument, with the triplicate hereof, is executed at Garraway, this tenth day of August, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-nine.

BLACK WILL, his ×
DOBBAH, his ×
WHEREBAH, his ×
YOURAH, his ×
YOIRRAH, his ×

In presence of:
J. H. STEWART,
CHARLES H. LEE,
YELLOW WILL, his ×

We, whose names are affixed, Headmen of Garraway Towns, do ratify and confirm the foregoing contracts made by our Governors and Kings with John B. Russwurm, Agent of the Maryland State Colonization Society, this tenth day of August A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-nine.

YEBOH, his ×
TOW WEAH, his ×
GESSAUGH, his ×
BLANYAH, his ×

THE AGREEMENT WHICH MADE MARYLAND IN LIBERIA INDEPENDENT.

Whereas the people of Maryland in Liberia have represented to the Maryland State Colonization Society, that it is their desire, and that it will, in their opinion, materially promote their welfare, to dissolve all political connection with or subordination to the said Society, and with that view have, with the full consent and approbation of the Society, formed for themselves a Constitution and Form of Government, under which, when the same shall have been fully ratified and adopted, they design to declare themselves a Free, Sovereign and Independent State;

And whereas the Maryland State Colonization Society, having in their establishment of the colony at Cape Palmas, and in their government of the same, been always desirous to improve the condition of the free people of color of Maryland, by placing them in a position in which they would find no obstacles in the way of their advancement; and the Society whilst recognizing with humble gratitude to the Giver of all good, in the present condition and future prospects of the people of Maryland in Liberia, the blessings which have thus far crowned their labors, humbly

trust that the change now proposed to be made in the relations between the Society and the people, may still further advance the prosperity of those for whose welfare they have labored.

And whereas, in severing the political connection heretofore existing between the said Society and the people of Maryland in Liberia, it is necessary and proper to enter into an arrangement in reference to the public and other property in Maryland in Liberia, now belonging to the Society; for which purpose William A. Prout and William Cassell have been duly appointed by the people of Maryland in Liberia commissioners to confer with the Society.

Now, therefore, the Maryland State Colonization Society on the one part, and William A. Prout and William Cassell, Commissioners of the people of Maryland in Liberia, on the other part, have, on this fourteenth day of February, in the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-four, in the City of Baltimore, entered into the following agreement, which, if duly ratified within the space of twelve months by the government which may be established by the people of Maryland in Liberia, shall be binding both on the said Society and on the said government and people, to wit:

Article I.—The Society hereby agrees to cede all its public lands within the limits of Maryland in Liberia to the people and government of that Republic, subject to the following provisions, viz.:

First. The Government shall allow to all future emigrants out of any unoccupied or unsold lands, instead of the quantity heretofore allowed by the regulations of the Society, a farm lot of ten acres, or a town lot of one quarter of an acre in any new settlement that may hereafter be made; or ten acres for a farm lot in the present settlement, the town lot being the same as heretofore, viz., an eighth of an acre; and when the Government sells any of the public lands, every alternate lot or farm, or section or square mile, shall be left unsold, to be assigned to emigrants.

Second. All sales shall be at auction, to the highest bidder. Lands after having been offered at auction and unsold, may be sold at private sale, not below a price to be fixed by law.

Third. The tracts reserved for emigrants may, with the assent of the Society, be exchanged for others of equal value, or sold and the proceeds devoted to the purposes of education.

Fourth. The Government of Maryland in Liberia shall appropriate at least ten per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of public lands to school or educational purposes.

Fifth. The Society shall retain the right of locating emigrants in any of the present settlements, or in any new settlement that may be made.

Sixth. New settlements are to be formed by the concurrence and agreement of the Government of Maryland in Liberia and the Society.

Seventh. The lands held by the State for the occupancy of emigrants shall be exempt from taxation.

Eighth. If the Government of the United States shall at any time determine to send to Maryland in Liberia recaptured Africans, the Society shall thereupon have the right to claim, and to have immediately set apart for their use, by the Government of Maryland in Liberia, not exceeding one hundred acres, as the Society may require, out of any of the public lands not previously sold or appropriated.

Ninth. The Society shall retain the public store and the wharf thereto appertaining, the present receptacles for emigrants, with the land thereto contiguous, sufficient to accommodate the occupants, and the west half of the public farm, dividing it through the center by a line running northerly at right angles with the Maryland avenue; and, whenever required, the Government shall further cede to the Society in each new settlement that may be made, a lot of suitable size for the reception and accommodation of new emigrants. All property retained by, or which may hereafter be ceded to the Society, with all improvements which the Society may make thereon, shall be exempt from taxation so long as the Society shall retain the same; but the Society shall take such care of all their lots as the citizens are required to take of

theirs, in order to prevent their becoming nuisances; and in case of neglect the town authorities shall be authorized to abate such nuisances at the expense of the Society.

ARTICLE II.—The Society shall have the privilege of introducing into Maryland in Liberia, free of duty, all its stores, provisions and furniture for the use of emigrants, as well as all other articles which it may at any time send there to be sold for the purpose of providing means for the reception, accommodation and support of emigrants, so long as they may remain under the care of the Society; and all vessels chartered by the Society and carrying emigrants shall be free from light-house and anchorage duties.

ARTICLE III.—Recaptured Africans shall be admitted into Maryland in Liberia, should the United States Government desire to send them there, and make provision for their support.

ARTICLE IV.—The Society shall give to the Government of Maryland in Liberia the Government house and public offices, forts, and all munitions of war now in the territory, also the warehouse last erected by Governor Russwurm, belonging to the Society. All property of every description not expressly ceded by these articles of agreement to the Government and people of Maryland in Liberia, is reserved to the Society, and may be disposed of solely at its discretion.

ARTICLE V.—All emigrants hereafter sent to Maryland in Liberia by the Society shall have secured the same rights of citizenship in Maryland in Liberia, and upon the same terms and conditions as have been enjoyed by emigrants heretofore sent there by the Society.

ARTICLE VI.—In case the Maryland State Colonization Society shall at any time hereafter become united with or merged in any other colonization society; or should the duties now and hereafter to be performed by said State Society in regard to emigrants from Maryland be assumed by, or devolve upon the present, or any future colonization agents, appointed by the State of Mary-

land, then and in either of such cases, all the provisions of the present agreement shall be mutually binding upon the Government and people of Maryland in Liberia on the one hand, and on such other colonization society, or on such State colonization agents, as the case may be, respectively; and shall secure to each and all of said parties the benefits of the same.

ARTICLE VII.—These articles may be altered at any time by the mutual agreement of the President and Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society and the Government of Maryland in Liberia.

ARTICLE VIII.—It is hereby agreed that after the Government of Maryland in Liberia shall have been duly organized, and shall have acted upon and duly ratified the foregoing Articles, as herein provided for, and shall have furnished the Society with the duly authenticated evidence thereof, the Society shall be bound, and hereby binds itself to execute and transmit to the said Government, such Instrument of writing or Deed as shall be by said Republic deemed necessary fully to confirm, convey and vest in said Government the title in fee simple to all the said lands, subject only to the conditions and reservations herein contained.

In testimony whereof, the undersigned Commissioners of Maryland in Liberia have hereunto set their hands and seals, and the undersigned President, Vice-Presidents and Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society have hereunto set their hands and caused the seal of the said Society to be hereto affixed.

Done at the City of Baltimore, Maryland, in the United States of America, on this twenty-second day of February, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-four.

W. A. PROUT, [SEAL.]
WM. CASSELL, [SEAL.] } *Commissioners.*

CHARLES HOWARD, *Pres. Md. State Col. Soc.*

HUGH DAVEY EVANS,
JOHN HANSON BRISCOE, V. P.,
WM. CRANE,
GEORGE S. GIBSON,
WM. MASON.
} *Vice-Presidents.*

Board of Managers:

WILLIAM F. GILES,	THOS. WILSON,
CHARLES F. MAYER,	J. H. MCCULLOH,
COMFORT TIFFANY,	J. MASON CAMPBELL,
WILLIAM WOODWARD,	ISAAC TYSON, JUN.,
WM. H. KEIGHLER,	FRANCIS T. KING,
ISAAC P. COOK,	CHAS. J. M. GWINN,
J. HOWARD MCHENRY,	W. A. TALBOTT.

F. W. BRUNE, JR., *Recording Secretary.*

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of:

JAMES HALL, *Genl. Agt. Md. S. Col. Society.*
JOHN SEYS, *Trav. Agent.*
W. MCLAIN,
GEO. W. S. HALL.

CODE OF LAWS FOR KING FREEMAN.

1. All men must do to each other as they would have men do unto them.

2. All men must speak truth: none but bad men lie.

3. If a man kill another man because he hated and wanted to kill him, he must be hung.

4. If a man kill another man, and did not hate him or want to kill him, but did not take care, and killed him, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

5. If two men quarrel, and fight on the spot, and did not hate before they fought, or want to kill, and one kill the other, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

6. If one man kill another, and did not hate him, or want to kill him, and tried not to kill him, but killed him, he must not be punished.

7. If one man try to kill another, and the man whom he tries to kill, fight him and kill him to save his own life, he must not be punished.

8. If a man make rape on a woman, and she not willing, he must be hung.

9. If a man try to make rape on a woman, and she fight and kill him, she must not be punished.

10. If a man burn a house in the night where anybody are to sleep, he must be hung.

11. If a man burn a house at any other time, or a house where nobody are to sleep, or pull down a house which is not his, or break into another man's house because he wants to steal, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

12. If a man, or two men, or many men, take a man, or woman, or child, and sell them for slaves, they must be hung.

13. If a man hurt another by beating or cutting him very much, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

14. If a man take away another man's wife, or use her as his wife, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

15. If a man have one wife, and while she lives take another wife, so as to have more than one wife living, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says; besides, he must give to both wives and their children a house to live in, and enough to eat and drink as long as they live.

16. If a man steal, he must give back what he stole, and besides, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

17. If a woman do anything wrong, she must be punished the same as a man.

18. If a man kill or hurt a woman, he must be punished as if he had killed or hurt a man.

19. If a man or woman do any thing which these or any other laws say is wrong, the constable, when he is told of it by anybody, must catch the man or woman that has done wrong, and bring them before the judge. If the constable will not do so, he must pay for the wrong and be punished as the judge says. If he looks good and tries to find the man or woman that did wrong, but cannot find them, he must not be punished.

20. If a man or woman under one king, steal or hurt a man or woman under another king or governor, the king under whom the man or woman is that did so must make that man or woman that did the wrong pay for it, and be punished besides. If the king will not do this, he must pay for the wrong that has been done himself.

21. When any man or woman is said to have done any wrong, the judge must hear what every body says that was there or knew anything about it, and if he thinks the man or woman has done the wrong, which is called being Guilty, he must punish the man or woman for doing wrong according to the law, but if the judge, after he has heard what every body who was there has to say, does not think the man or woman guilty, he must let him or her go free. The judge must go by what the people say that was there or knew anything about it.

22. The judge cannot punish, unless he sees the wrong done, or hears other people that he can believe, say they saw it done, or saw such things as make the judge know it was done.

23. If a man says before the judge that any other man or woman did wrong, and speak lie when he says so, he must go to jail and be punished as the judge says, for this is bad.

24. The king must make judges to hear all things which are wrong among his people, and to try all men or women that have done wrong; and the judges must be the best and wisest men among the king's people.

25. The American men must be tried by the American judges, and when the dispute is between a native and an American man, there must be a native judge and an American judge, and if they don't agree, the American governor of the colony must settle the business.

26. If any man kill or hurt another man's cattle beasts, he must pay for it, and go to jail and be punished as the judge says.

SONG OF THE EMIGRANTS TO CAPE PALMAS.

For Africa! for Africa! our way lies o'er the deep,
Where ride we crests of briny waves and down their valleys sweep:
We leave behind the white sea-gulls at limit of their flight,
Until around Cape Palmas, again we'll greet their sight;
As though the feathered things had flown to welcome us, when we
Shall tread, as tread we Afric's shore, the footsteps of the free.

For Africa! for Africa! our flag is floating fair;
We have taken Freedom's banner, though its stars are wanting there;
But, in their place, the holy sign is on the azure field,
And cross and stripes have now become our standard and our shield;
And yet, where Afric's palm trees wave, where whirls the dread simoon,
May mark where pilgrims, wending home, may loose their sandal shoon.

For Africa! for Africa! we bear the glorious light
Whose radiance from revealèd truth is more than sunbeam bright.

Where hearts of wandering thousands no softening thoughts have
known,
Where prayer has never yet gone up to Heaven's eternal throne,
We'll plant the cross, the idol break, we'll teach the sacred word
Until, through heathen Africa, our God shall be adored.

For Africa! for Africa! oh! who would stay behind;
The anchor hangs upon the bow, the sails swell in the wind:
Our fatherland, the love of thee within our heart now reigns—
Then bid thy wanderers welcome through all thy boundless plains;
Yield, from thy fruitful bosom, a harvest to our toil,
Until we find, 'neath shadowing palms, our graves within thy soil.

L.

November 27, 1834.

The flag of Liberia is the American flag, with a cross of equal arms of white in place of the stars.

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